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ON YUAN CHWANG'S

TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

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EDITED, AFTER HIS DEATH,

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VOL. II.

WITH TWO MAPS AND AN ITINERARY

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

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KAPILAVASTU.

"From this" (that is apparently, the neighbourhood of Śrāvasti) the pilgrim continued his journey, he tells us, and going south-east for above 500 *li* he came to the Kapilavastu country. This he describes as above 4000 *li* (about 800 miles) in circuit, and as containing more than ten deserted cities all in utter ruin. The "royal city", (that is, the district of the capital) Yuan-chuang adds, was such a complete waste its area could not be ascertained. But the solid brick foundations of the "Palace city", within the "Royal city", still remained, and were above fifteen *li* in circuit. As the district had been left desolate for a very long time it was very sparsely inhabited. The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief; the soil was fertile and farming operations were regular; the climate was temperate, and the people were genial in their ways. There were remains of above 1000 Buddhist monasteries; and near the "Palace city" was an existing monastery with above 30 (in the D text 3000) inmates, adherents of the Sammatiya School. There were two Deva-Temples, and the sectarians lived pell-mell.

It is remarkable that while all the texts of the Records here give 500 *li* as the distance from Sravasti to Kapilavastu, the texts of the Life give 800 *li*, the direction being the same; the Fang-chih agrees with the Records. Then the Life does not mention the "more than ten deserted cities all in utter ruin", but it tells us that "the *tu-ch'êng* (都城), that is, the other cities for above 1000 *li* (in D 10 *li*) were all utterly ruined". Here again also the Life and the Records use the term "Palace city" to denote the walled city of the district called *the capital*. The word *ch'êng* means *city* and *city-wall*, and it was the *wall* of the city which was made of brick as to its foundations and was fifteen *li* in circuit.

The numbers which Yuan-chuang gives for the ruined

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towns and deserted monasteries in this country were probably either hearsay statements or mere conjectures. We read of *eight* cities in the country, and we find "Eight Cities" used apparently as a proper name for a locality.[1] The number of monasteries is evidently an exaggeration; as Buddhism does not seem to have ever flourished, either at Kapilavastu, or in the surrounding districts.

The pilgrim next proceeds to enumerate the various objects of interest, all connected with the Buddha's life, which he found within the capital.

> On the "old foundations" of king Suddhodana's principal mansion there was a shrine (or temple, *ching-shê*) in which was a representation of that king. Near this was the site (lit. "old foundation") of the bedroom of Mahāmāyā (the queen of Suddhodana and mother of the Buddha) and in the shrine which marked the site was a representation of this queen. The shrine beside this had a representation of the P'usa descending to become incarnate in Mahāmāyā's womb. To the north-east of this was the tope to mark the place at which the rishi Asita read and announced the baby P'usa's destiny. At the south gate of the city was a tope to mark the place where the P'usa competed with other Sakyas in athletics and threw an elephant over the city-moat. The elephant, in falling, made a hole which came to be called "The ditch of the elephant's fall", and near the tope was a shrine with a representation of the P'usa. Beside this tope was also the side of the part of the palace which served as bedchamber of Yasodharā the P'usa's princess, and in the shrine here were pictures of her and her son Rāhula. Near this was the site of the P'usa's schoolroom on which was a shrine with a picture of the young P'usa as Prince. In the south-east corner of the city, at the spot from which the Prince (the P'usa) began his flight over the city-wall, was a shrine with a representation of him on his white horse in the act of going over the wall.

In the above passage the word *shrine* or *temple* stands for the Chinese *ching-shê* as before. Julien renders this term as usual by *vihāra*, but the context shews clearly that the term is not to be taken in that sense in this passage. Fa-hsien, whose description of Kapilavastu is neither full nor precise, calls the memorial structures

[1] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 20.

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which he saw on various sites *t'a*, or *topes*, probably using the word in an extended sense and as meaning also a small shrine.

Then the Chinese word in the above passage rendered "picture" or "representation" is *hsiang* (像), commonly and correctly translated "image", which in Julien's rendering is "la statue". Thus the words *chung-tso-wang-hsiang* (中作王像) are rendered by him— "au centre duquel s'éléve la statue du roi", but the meaning is simply— "within which is a representation of the king". In the case of the shrine at the spot where the P'usa entered Mahāmāyā's womb Julien rightly translates "on a représenté le *Pou-sa*". According to Fa-hsien, who has only one representation of the Queen and the P'usa, the picture shewed these two at the moment when the P'usa "mounted on a white elephant enters his mother's womb". Neither this incident, nor that of the Prince (i. e. the P'usa) flying over the city-wall on his horse, could well be represented by a statue. The likenesses or representations of the king, queen, and other persons were probably pictures of them painted on the walls of the shrines opposite the entrance. Small temples with such paintings are familiar to all travellers in India and China.[1]

Now as to the sites and "old foundations" pointed out to our pilgrim and his predecessor as those of the various buildings connected with the palace of king Suddhodana, all labelled, as it were, with their topes or shrines, we may confidently assert that the information given was not correct. At the time of Gautama Buddha there was neither a king Suddhodana, nor a palace of his, at Kapilavastu. The city was apparently within the territory ruled over by the king of Kosala. The father of the Buddha was no more than a member of the Sakya clan, perhaps invested with some rank or importance as a chief magistrate, although this does not appear.[2]. He may also have lived

[1] It is possible, however, that the pilgrim may have used the word *hsiang* here in its ordinary sense of *image*.

[2] Oldenberg's 'Buddha', p. 101: Rhys Davids's 'Buddhism', p. 92

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in or near a place called Kapilavastu, but he had not a palace and did not reign there. The topes and shrines shewn to the pilgrims must have been set up long after the Buddha's decease. Even the author of the "Asokāvadāna", although he mentions the city-gate by which the P'usa passed out from his home to become an ascetic, does not seem to know anything of the various memorial buildings here mentioned.[1]

According to our pilgrim's description in the present passage the throwing of the dead elephant by Prince Siddhārtha (the P'usa) was kept in memory by three objects. There was a tope at the South gate of the city where Devadatta killed the elephant, Nanda drew its body out of the way, and Prince Siddhārtha threw the body over the city-wall and moat. Then at the place where the dead body, thus thrown, fell outside the city, there was the great hole or pit which it made by its fall. The third memento was a shrine containing a representation of the Prince. Yuan-chuang's language might seem to imply that the shrine was beside the pit, but his meaning evidently is that it was beside the tope.

The "Pit of the Elephant's Fall", as Yuan-chuang calls it, is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, but we find it in some other treatises. In the Sarvata Vinaya[2] we find the story told very much as our pilgrim tells it, and there the Pit is seven *li* from the city. The "Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching"[3] also has a version of it similar to that given in our text. In the story as told in the sūtra just cited the Prince lifts the dead elephant with a toe of his left foot, and sends it through the air over the seven-fold wall of the city to a distance of above a furlong, and the elephant falling makes a great hole. In the "Ying-kuo-ching"[4] Devadatta kills an elephant which blocks the thoroughfare, Nanda then flings the dead body out of the way, and

[1] Divyāv. p. 390.
[2] P'o-sêng-chih, *ch.* 3.
[3] *Ch.* 4 (No. 159).
[4] *Ch.* 2 (No. 666).

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Prince Siddhārtha hurls it over the city wall and brings it back to life as it reaches the ground; and a similar version of the story is told in the "T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching".[1] Neither in these sūtras nor in the "Chung-hsü-ching", which also relates the miracle,[2] is there any mention of a hole or pit made by the elephant's fall. According to Yuan-chuang and the Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching the elephant which Devadatta kills is one which the king had ordered to carry back the Prince from the athletic contest in which he had beaten all his competitors. Devadatta, in ill temper at having been beaten all round by his cousin, meets the elephant going out to carry home this successful rival, and giving way to his temper kills the animal. But some other accounts, as the "Chung-hsü-ching", represent the elephant as a present from the people of Vaiśāli to the Prince, and Devadatta kills it out of envy and jealousy. It is not necessary to suppose that Yuan-chuang actually went to the Hastigarta or "Elephant's Grave", nor indeed need we believe that there was a ditch or pit with that name near Kapilavastu.

> Going on with his description the pilgrim takes us outside of the capital. To the south of the city, he tells us, and at a distance of above 50 *li* (about ten miles) from it, was an old city with a tope. This was the birth place of the Past Buddha *Ka-lo-ka-ts'un-t'ê* (that is, Krakachunda or Krakucchanda, the Kakusandha of the Pali scriptures). Not far to the south from this city was a tope to mark the spot at which Krakachunda having attained to perfect enlightenment (that is, having become Buddha) met his father. Another tope, which was to the south-east of the old city, marked the place in which bodily relics of this Buddha were deposited. In front of this tope was a stone pillar, erected by Asoka, above 30 feet high with a carved lion on the top, and an account of [Krakachunda's] decease (parinirvāṇa) on the sides. Above 30 *li* (six miles) north-east from this old city was another "old large city" which also had a tope. Here the Past Buddha *Ka-no-ka-mou-ni* (Kanakamuni) was born. Near this city, on the north-east, was the tope which marked the spot where this Buddha, after attaining Bodhi, admitted his father into

[1] *Ch.* 1 (No. 665).
[2] *Ch.* 3 (No. 859).

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his religion; and north of this was a tope with bodily relics of Kanakamuni Buddha. Here too was a stone pillar above twenty feet high, with a lion on the top, and a record of the circumstances of this Buddha's decease on the sides; this pillar also had been set up by Asoka.

Fa-hsien places the old city of Krakachunda, (called by him *Ku-lu-ch'in* Buddha) twelve yojanas (about 96 miles) to the south-east of Śrāvasti, and he tells us the city had at his time topes and vihāras (that is, commemorative). He gives the name of this city as *Na-p'i-ka* (那毗伽), which is perhaps for Nābhika the name of a town in the far north. Less than a yojana to the north of Krakachunda Buddha's city, Fa-hsien relates, was the city of *Ku-na-han* (Kanakamuni, in the Pali texts Koṇāgamana) Buddha, also with topes. This latter city was according to Fa-hsien less than a yojana to the west of Kapilavastu.[1] There is thus, as Cunningham has observed, a serious difference between the pilgrims as to the situations of these two old cities. According to Yuan-chuang, as we have seen, Krakachunda's city was 50 *li* to the south of Kapilavastu and Kanakamuni's city a few *li* to the south-east of Kapilavastu, while Fa-hsien places Kanakamuni's city to the west and Krakachunda's city to the south-west of Kapilavastu. Yet the two pilgrims are in tolerable agreement as to the distance and direction of Śrāvasti from Kapilavastu.

In the Buddhist books various names are given to the cities feigned to have been the homes or birth places of the two Past Buddhas of this passage, but without any indication as to the localities in which the cities were situated. Thus Krakachunda Buddha's city is called *Wu-wei* or "Fear-less",[2] and *An-ho* (安和) or "Peaceful harmony",[3] and *Shu* (sometimes written *Lun*)-*ha-li-t'i-na* (輪詞唎提那) or Suhṛidin, perhaps the original for An-ho.[4]

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 21.

[2] Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 404).

[3] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 1. Khemavatī in Pali. (D. 2. 7.)

[4] Ch'i-Fo-fu-mu-hsing-tzŭ-ching (No. 626). The character for *Shu* is 輸.

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The city of Kanakamuni is called *Chuang-yen* (莊嚴)[1] "adorned", a translation of Śubhavati, and *Ch'ing-ching* (清淨) or "Purity",[2] and *Ch'a-mo-yue-ti* (差摩越提) or Kshamāvat,[3] and *Ku-na* (俱那) or Koṇa.[4] The tope over the relics of Krakachunda Buddha is represented as having been built by a king contemporary with that Buddha and named Asoka[5] or, in one book, Śubha.[6] We find the tope of Kanakamuni located in the Benares district,[7] but his city Koṇa was apparently not far west from Kapilavastu. On the pillar recently discovered in the Nepalese Terai, near Niglīva, is an inscription in which king Asoka records that he had twice enlarged the tope of Kanakamuni and offered it worship. This information is very interesting, but it does not tell us which of the great events in that Buddha's career the tope commemorated. Yet some Indian archaeologists do not hesitate to call it the *Nirvāṇa Tope* of Kanakamuni Buddha. Fa-hsien, who places the two old cities on the west side of the capital, does not mention the presence of Asoka pillars; and Yuan-chuang, who places the two old cities to the eastward of the capital, records the existence of the pillars. He represents the inscriptions on the pillars as giving particulars of the decease of the two Buddhas, but the inscription on the Niglīva pillar does not give such particulars.

The pilgrim continuing his description relates that above 40 *li* to the north-east of Kapilavastu was a tope at the place where the young "heir-apparent" (that is the P'usa while a young prince) sat in the shade of a tree watching ploughers at work. While so sitting he became absorbed in samādhi, and obtained emancipation from cravings. The King, his father, observing that while his son was lost in ecstatic meditation the sun's rays turn-

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[1] Fo-shuo-Fo-ming-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 404).
[2] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 1.
[3] Ch'i-Fo-fu-mu-hsing-tzu-ching (No. 626).
[4] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 7.
[5] Divyāv. p. 418.
[6] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 1343). Sobha in Pali. (D. 2. 7.)
[7] Chêng-fa-nien-ch'ü-ching, *ch.* 47 (No. 679).

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ed back and the tree gave him continued shade, became convinced of the miraculous sanctity of his son, and felt for him an increased reverence.

The story of this passage is told or referred to in many Buddhist books with little variation as to the main incidents. In the Aśokāvadāna Upagupta points out to the king the jambu tree under which the P'usa had sat to watch the labourers, and tells the king how the P'usa here went into the first dhyāna having attained true views. He also tells Asoka how Suddhodana, on beholding the miracle of the continued shade, prostrated himself before his son in adoration.[1] It was, we read in another treatise, pity for the toiling creatures which made the boy think deeply of earthly miseries and the way of escape. Sitting under the umbrageous jambu tree, which all the day screened him from the glare of the sun, he attained by samādhi to absolute purity of thought.[2]

To the north-east of the capital were several hundred thousand topes where the Sakyas were put to death. When king Virūḍhaka conquered the Sakyas, and took them prisoners to the number of 99,900,000, he caused them all to be massacred: the corpses were strewn about in heaps and the blood made a pond: on the prompting of devas the skeletons were collected and buried. To the south-west of these topes were four small topes where four Sakyas repulsed the army. When Prasenajit succeeded to the throne he sought a marriage alliance with the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, but these despising him as not of their class, deceived him by giving him as bride, with great ceremony, the daughter of a slave-woman. Prasenajit made this girl his queen, and she bore him a son, the prince Virūḍhaka. In due course this prince went to the home of his mother to be educated in various accomplishments, and on his arrival at Kapilavastu he lodged with his retinue in the new chapel to the south of the city. The Sakyas hearing of this became enraged at the young prince, and abused him because he— "the low son of a slave girl"— as they called him, had presumed to occupy the chapel which they had built for the use of the Buddha. When Virūḍhaka became king he promptly led an army to Kapilavastu,

[1] Divyāv. p. 391: A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 2 (No. 1459): A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 2: Bur. Int. p. 382 ff.: Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, *ch.* 4 (No. 159).

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determined to have revenge for the insult. While his army was encamped at some distance from the city four Sakya husbandmen attacked it and drove it back. Having done this the men came to the city; but their clansmen cut them off from the clan, and drove them into exile, because that they, the lineal descendants of universal sovereigns and Dharmarājas, by having dared to commit wanton atrocities, complacently killing others, had disgraced the clan. These four men, so banished, went to the Snow Mountains and founded dynasties still existing, one in Udyāna, one in Bamian, one in Himatala, and one in Shangmi (Śambi?).

The summary account here given by Yuan-chuang differs considerably from the history of Virūḍhaka as related in the Buddhist books. Thus some authorities represent king Prasenajit as demanding from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu one of their daughters to be his queen in order that he might have an attraction for the Buddha in his palace.[1] The Sakyas, 500 in number, consider the demand in council. They fear to refuse, yet they cannot depart from their law which forbids the marriage of their females with aliens. Their President (or Elder) Mahānāma gets them out of the difficulty by sending his daughter by a female slave (or, according to one version of the story, the slave herself) to be the king's bride. But there is also a different account which represents Prasenajit as falling in love with a kind and thoughtful young maiden who turns out to be a slave of the Sakya Mahānāma.[2] The King demands the girl from her master, who had seized her for arrears of rent due to him by her late father as his agent. The master gladly complies with the King's request, and the slave-girl becomes queen. In due course she bears a son, the prince who receives the name Virūḍhaka (or Viḍūḍabha or Vaidūrya). When this son grows to be a boy he is sent to Kapilavastu to learn archery and other accomplishments, becoming a young prince in the household or under the supervision of Mahānāma, supposed to be his maternal

[1] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 26: Dh. p. 216.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 7, 8 (No. 1121): Rockhill, Life, p. 74: Journal Buddhist Text Society Vol. V. P. 1.

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grand-father. But the night of his arrival at the city is spent in the New Hall or Chapel, and the young Sakyas, in the circumstances described by the pilgrim, treat the prince with rudeness and violence, or, according to others, after he has left, they speak of him very contemptuously and treat his presence in the Hall as a defilement of the building. In the course of time Virūḍhaka succeeds his father as King of Kosala, having played foully for the Kingdom. One of his first acts after his accession was to collect an army for the invasion of Kapilavastu, and the punishment of its inhabitants for their wanton insults to him in the days of his boyhood. On his way, and when only a short distance from Srāvasti, he had the memorable interview with the Buddha seated under a dead tree as already related. When the Buddha left the Sakyas to the terrible fate which they made for themselves the king renewed the invasion. While his forces were encamped in the neighbouryood of Kapilavastu, the Sakyas in the city, following the Buddha's advice, resolved to shut themselves up within the walls aud make a passive resistance. But one man *Shê-ma* (that is, perhaps Sama, Mr. Rockhill's Samaka) living at a distance from Kapilavastu, took up arms against the invaders, defeated them, and slew many thousands of them.[1] According to the account followed by Yuan-chuang there were four country-men who fought and repulsed the invading enemy. As the fighting had taken place without the sanction of the Sakyas, and against their decision to make only a passive resistance, the brave patriot (or patriots) not only did not receive any recognition from the besieged clansmen, but actually had to undergo the punishment of expatriation. The crime of Śama (or of the four heroes) was that he, a Kshatriya and a member of the Buddhist community, had taken human life, and caused it to be taken, in violation of the principles to which they were all vowed. When Virūḍhaka found

[1] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching l. c.: Ch'u-yao-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 1321): Rockhill, Life, p. 117.

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that the Sakyas would not fight he attacked their city the gates of which were opened to him through bad advice. He then destroyed the buildings of Kapilavastu, and massacred all its inhabitants except a few who managed to escape.[1]

> Three or four *li* south of Kapilavastu, the pilgrim's description proceeds, in a wood of *Ni-ku-lü* (尼拘律) trees was an Asoka tope at the place where Sakya gu-lai, having attained Buddhahood and returned to his native land, met his father and preached to him. The king had sent a messenger to remind his son of his promise to return home on attaining Buddhahood, and inviting him to make the visit at once. Buddha's reply was that after the lapse of seven days he would return home. Hearing this the king ordered the streets to be cleaned; and he went in state to a distance of forty *li* from the city to await Buddha's arrival. The Buddha came through the air, escorted by devas and followed by his bhikshus, to the place where the king was waiting; from this the procession went to the *Ni-ku-lü* monastery. Not far from this was a tope on the spot where the Buddha, sitting under a large tree with his face to the east, accepted a gold-embroidered monk's robe from his aunt and foster-mother. Next to this was a tope to mark the spot at which the Buddha admitted into the Brotherhood eight princes and 500 Sakyas.

The *ni-ku-lü* of this passage, as of other passages in the Records, stands for the Sanskrit word Nyagrodha (in Pali, Nigrodha), the Banyan tree. This transcription, which seems to represent a colloquial form of the Indian word, was probably adopted by the pilgrim from early Chinese translations of the Indian books. In his own translations from the Sanskrit Yuan-chuang uses a transcription nearer to the form nyagrodha. All this passage is unsatisfactory; and it seems to have been composed in a careless hurried manner. As the passage itself shews, and as we learn from other sources, it was not in the Banyan Wood, south of the city, that Suddhodana met the Buddha. The king went out in state along the road to Śrāvasti (or, according to some accounts, towards Rājagriha), and at the river *Lu-ha-ka* (Rohitaka?) forty *li*

[1] Liu-li-wang-ching (No. 671): Mahābodhivaṃsa p. 98: Wu-fên-lü, *ch.* 21: Spence Hardy M. B. p. 293.

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from Kapilavastu, waited for the Buddha's crossing into his territory.[1] Fa-hsien mentions the place at which father and son met, but he does not say anything about a tope or wood, and indeed he does not seem to have known of a Banyan Wood. There was one large banyan tree, we know, and there may have been several such in the neighbourhood. There was also near Kapilavastu the Nyagrodhārāma (in Pali the Nigrodhārāma) or Banyan Monastery here mentioned. This establishment was formed by the Buddhists of the district after their conversion. Yet our pilgrim makes the Buddha go to it on his first visit, as Buddha, to his native place.

The name of the messenger sent by Suddhodana to his son was Udāyi or Kāḷudāyi. When this man came with the king's message he was converted by the Buddha and ordained, and so having come as the king's messenger he went back as the Buddha's apostle.[2]

The "great tree" under which the Buddha was sitting when he received the *Ka-sha*, or monk's robe, from his aunt Mahā Prajāpatī was, according to Fa-hsien, a banyan. This pilgrim calls the robe a sañghāṭi, and says the tree was still in existence at his time. The vestment was of fine muslin, we learn, and queen Prajāpatī had made it herself. Out of kindness to her the Buddha accepted the robe, and handed it over to the Brotherhood.[3]

The "eight princes" of whom Yuan-chuang makes mention here were the Sakyans named, in one account, Aniruddha, Bhadi (or Bhaddiya), Nandi, Kimbila, Nanda, Upananda, Ānanda, and Devadatta. But this list does not agree with the histories of the disciples given in other works. Upāli, the barber, who left Kapilavastu in attendance on the young "princes" when these went to be ordained, also made up his mind, on the way, to join the

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[1] Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 12: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 9: Chung-pên-ch'i-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 556): Rockhill, Life, p. 51.

[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih l. c.

[3] Fo-shuo-fên-pie-pu-shih-ching (No. 930): Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 47.

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Buddha's Brotherhood. He was ordained before his former masters; and consequently these, on becoming bhikshus, had to reverence Upāli as their senior in religion, a service which some of them were very reluctant to render. There is not perfect agreement as to the place where the ordination of Upāli and the Sakya "princes" occurred, for the Vinaya and some other treatises refer it to Anupiya in the country of the Mallas,[1] while the pilgrims and other authorities represent the ordination as having taken place at Kapilavastu. It was in consequence of an order from king Suddhodana (or from the Sakya Elders) that the 500 young men and the eight "princes" joined the Brotherhood; but the 'princes' are, more properly, to be included among the 500.[2] Every family which had more than two sons, or only two sons was, required by the state decree to send the best son to become a Sakya bhikshu.

> Inside the east gate of the city, on the left side of the road, was a tope where Prince Sarvārthasiddha (the P'usa) practised various accomplishments. Outside this gate, the pilgrim continues, was a temple of Īśvara-Deva containing a stone image of the god in the attitude of rising and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant prince (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king his father (who was present with the party) to be presented to the god according to the custom of the Sakyas. As the baby was borne into the temple the stone image descended to pay respect to him, returning to its place when the baby prince (the P'usa) was carried away.

The place where the P'usa while Prince Siddhārtha "practised various accomplishments" was probably the site of the school in which he learned archery and the other manly accomplishments of the Sakyas. The temple of the Deva of this passage, which is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, may have been on the site of the temple of the Sakya-Vardha (or -Vardhana) God to which according to other accounts the infant Buddha was borne. This Sakya-vardhana (*Shih-ka-tsêng-chang* 釋迦增長) was a Yaksha, the special

[1] Dhp. 139 ff.: Vinaya Cull. VII. 1: Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 4.

[2] Chung-hsü-ching, *ch.* 13: Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching, *ch.* 8 (No. 1182).

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protector of the Sakyas, and all Sakya children were borne to his temple to be presented to the deity and obtain his favour and protection for life.[1]

> Continuing his description the pilgrim relates that outside of the south gate of the city, and on the left side of the road, was a tope to mark the spot at which the Prince (that is, the P'usa), competing in athletic accomplishments with the other Sakyas, shot at iron drums. His arrow pierced the drums, went thirty-two *li* to the south-east, and penetrated the ground up to the top, causing a clear spring of water to gush forth. This spot also was marked by a small tope; and the spring still existed, and had healing powers of great reputation. The people had always called it the Arrow Spring.

Fa-hsien has a similar account of the Arrow-Well or Śarakūpa, but he has no mention of a tope. In another treatise, however, which relates the incident, a tope is stated to have been set up by believing brahmins at the side of the Well.[2] Of all the Sakyas who were competitors in the military exercises Nanda and Devadatta were practically the only rivals to Siddhārtha, the future Buddha; their strength and skill were very great, but they were far surpassed by the superhuman achievments of their cousin.

> From the Arrow-Spring, the pilgrim proceeds, a walk of 80 or 90 *li* north-east brought one to the *La-fa-ni* (Lumbini) Grove. In this Grove was the beautiful bathing tank of the Sakyas, and about twenty-four paces from it was the old asoka tree at which the Buddha had been born into the world. On the east of this was an Asoka tope, at the place where two dragons washed the newly born prince with hot and cold water. To the east of this were two clear springs with topes where two dragons emerged on the birth of the P'usa and produced two springs. South of these was a tope where Indra received the newborn infant P'usa. Next to it were four topes to the four Devarājas who had taken charge of the baby Buddha after his birth. Near these topes was a stone pillar set up by Asoka with the figure of a horse on the top. Afterwards the pillar had been broken

[1] Divyāv. p. 391: A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 2: Rockhill Life p. 117: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 2.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching, *ch.* 4: Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 3.

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in the middle, and laid on the ground (that is, half of it), by a thunderbolt from a malicious dragon. Near this pillar was a small stream flowing south-east, and called by the people the Oil River. It was originally a tank of a pure oily liquid produced by the devas for the use of the Buddha's mother in cleansing herself from earthly soil after the birth of her son. The tank had become changed into a stream of water which, however, still retained its oily character.

The La-fa-ni Grove of this passage is the "King's Park (or Garden)" of Fa-hsien, who gives its name as *Lun-min* (論民) that is Lummin or Lumbin, and places it 50 *li* to the east of Kapilavastu.[1] This pilgrim mentions a bathing-tank in which Mahāmāyā bathed before giving birth to her son; and also a Dragon Well, but he does not record the existence of either tope or pillar in the 'Park'. We observe, however, that the narratives of the two pilgrims agree in placing Lumbini about nine or ten miles to the east of Kapilavastu. According to others it was between that city and Devadaha, and belonged to the latter. This Garden (or Grove) is celebrated in Buddhist legend as containing the very spot at which the future Buddha emerged from his mother's womb. Its name, which appears to have been pronounced Lumbini and Lummini, was originally, according to some accounts, that of the queen of Suprabuddha, king of Devadaha, for whom the garden was made. Yuan-chuang's transcription *La-fa-ni*, which seems to be unknown to other authors, is apparently for Lavaṇī which means "beautiful woman". The various legends differ in the accounts which they give of this place. In some it is a Park or Grove, in some a Garden, and in some merely a part of the general forest. So also they differ as to the kind of tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when she was delivered of her child. According to the Sarvata Vinaya, and other authorities, it was an asoka tree. When king Asoka visited Lumbini he saw the actual asoka tree, and conversed with its guardian genius.[2] Fa-hsien saw this asoka tree still alive, and

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 22.

[2] Divyāv. p. 389.

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Yuan-chuang saw it, in its place, but dead. The Lalita-vistara makes the tree to have been a peepul, and the authorities used by Hardy and Bigandet call it a sāl. One Chinese translation merely has "Lin-p'i (Lumbi) trees", and under one of these the P'usa is born.[1]

As to the present representative of Kapilavastu there have been several sites proposed. Cunningham thought at first that the site of the city might be located at Nagar Khās, in the southern part of the Basti district, near the confines of Nepāl. But afterwards he abandoned this in favour of the site "on the bank of the Bhuila Tāl or Lake of Bhuila, which is situated in *Pargana-Mansúrnagar*, in the new part of the Basti District, about 25 miles north-east from Faizabad and about 15 miles west-north-west from Basti". This is the identification made, with great confidence, by Mr. Carlleyle, who thought he had discovered at the place nearly all the objects mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.[2] More recently, however, this site has been abandoned; and a new one, the existence of which was pointed out by Dr. Waddell, has been discovered by the archæological explorers of the Indian Government. This is declared to be the true Kapilavastu, and the identification rests mainly on certain inscriptions on stone pillars found recently in the Nepalese Terai. Near the village of Paḍeria, which is about about two miles north of Bhagvānpur and about thirteen miles from Niglīva, in the Terai north of Gorakhpur, Dr. Führer found one of Asoka's monoliths. On this pillar is an inscription which records that king Piyadasi (Asoka) in the 21st year of his reign personally worshipped at the place as the spot at which the Buddha Sakyamuni was born. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the rest of the inscription. It seems, however, to intimate that the king caused a pillar of polished stone to be set up at the Buddha's birth place, and reduced the Government contri-

[1] Fo-shuo-p'u-yao-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 160).

[2] Arch. Sur. India Vol. XII. p. 83 and XXII. p. 1 ff.

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bution from the Lummini village.[1] With reference to this inscription we may observe that neither in the Sanskrit text of the Asokāvadāna, nor in any one of the three independent Chinese versions of it, is there mention of a stone pillar set up by the king, or of any reduction of taxation, or of the existence of a village at the Garden. According to these texts the first place which Asoka and Upagupta reach on their pilgrimage from Pāṭaliputra is the Lumbini Garden; Upagupta tells the king that this is the place of Buddha's birth, and points out the particular tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when her child was born; then the king sets up a shrine, or a tope, at the place, and makes a donation of 100 000 ounces of gold (or of precious substances), and goes away. Perhaps the shrime referred to is the one recently discovered, close to the spot where Asoka's pillar was found.[2] It contains a statue of Mahāmāyā, nearly life size, giving birth to the infant. The existing statue has not been closely examined, so its age is quite uncertain. Neither of the pilgrims has any reference to a tope erected by Asoka; and the topes now existing, near the shrine and inscribed pillar, are very small. Yet we find mention of a great tope at the spot where the Buddha was born,[3] and about the year A. D. 764 the tope was visited, we are told, by the Chinese pilgrim known as Wuk'ung.[4] Yuan-chuang, we have seen, mentions a stone pillar, but he does not say anything about an inscription on it. The Fang-chih, however, tells us that the pillar recorded the circumstances of Buddha's birth. Further search in the neighbourhood of Paḍeria may reveal the Sakya's Tank, the Dragon's Topes, Indra's Tope, and the Oily stream, all in the Lumbini Garden. About eight miles north-west from Paḍeria, we are told, are the ruins

[1] J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 615: Epigraphia, Indica Vol. V. p. 1: Jour. des Savants, Fév. 1897, p. 73.

[2] Journal Roy. As. Soc. 1897 p. 619.

[3] Hsin-ti-kuan-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 955).

[4] Shi-li-ching: Journal Asiatique 1895 p. 357.

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of Kapilavastu which are "to be traced over a length of seven English and a breadth of about three English miles", a statement not to be accepted.

Then we have the Asoka pillar of Niglīva already noticed (pp. 7, 16) the inscription on which shews us that the city of the previous Buddha Konakamuni, mentioned and probably visited by the Chinese pilgrims, stood near the site of that village. Niglīva is "situated 38 miles north-west of the Uska Bazar station of the Bengal and North-west Railway, in the Nepalese tahsīl Taulihvā of the Zillah Butaul". Dr. Führer places the ruins of the city of Krakuchanda Buddha seven miles south-west from the ruins of Kapilavastu. As we have seen there is a serious disagreement between the pilgrims as to the sites of the two old cities of the Past Buddhas with respect to Kapilavastu. Yuan-chuang makes Krakuchanda's city to have been ten miles south of Kapilavastu, while Fa-hsien makes it to have been about seven miles to the south-west of that city; and Yuan-chuang locates Konakamuni's city to the south-east, while Fa-hsien places it due west of Kapilavastu. Further discoveries in the Terai and adjoining country may give more certainty as to the relative positions of the interesting remains of old Buddhism in the district. The two stūpas of Krakuchanda Buddha have been discovered, we are told, at a place about seven miles to the south-west of the ruins of Kapilavastu, and so about the spot indicated by Fa-hsien as the site of that Buddha's old city. Then Niglīva, which, as we have seen, has the stūpa of Konakamuni Buddha, is about 15 miles to the south-west of Paḍeria (Lumbini), a location which corresponds roughly to Fa-hsien's description. Thus the narrative of the earlier of the pilgrims is corroborated and illustrated by these important discoveries, and the later pilgrim's account receives from them useful corrections.

The most recent discovery in the Sakya country is that of the Piprāwa Stūpa an account of which was given to the Royal Asiatic Society by the Secretary on the 10th August 1900. This stūpa enclosed certain vases which contained

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bone-relics and various other articles. On one of the urns is a short inscription which, in Dr. Bühler's translation,[1] is—"This relic-shrine of divine Buddha is (the donation) of the Sakya Sukiti brothers associated with their sisters, sons and wives."

But Dr. Rhys Davids translates it:—[2]

"This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the august one, (is that) of the Sakyas, the brethren of the distinguished one, in association with their sisters, their children and their wives".[3]

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[1] J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 388.

[2] The Piprawa Stupa on the Birdpore Estate containing the Relics of Buddha. ibid. p. 588.

[3] [Professor Pischel, in his article in the Z. D. M. G. 1902, p. 157 has probably solved the problem of the difficult word Sukiti which he interprets as 'pious foundation'. So the translation will run: "This shrine &c. is the pious foundation of the Sakyas, his brethren in association &c. Ed.]

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RĀMA OR RĀMAGRĀMA.

The pilgrim goes on to relate that "from this" (that is, the Lumbini Garden) he travelled through a wild jungle east for more than 200 *li* (about 40 miles) to *Lan-mo* (Rāma) country. This had been waste and wild for a long time, and its area was not defined: its towns were heaps of ruins and there was a very scanty population.

To the sout-heast of the old city (that is, the former capital), he tells us, was a brick tope nearly 100 feet high. This had been built by the king of this country (who obtained one of the eight portions of the Buddha's relics) to enclose his share for preservation and worship. Beside this Relic Tope was a clear tank the dragon of which, when he went out for a stroll, assumed the form of a snake, and performed pradakshiṇa to the Tope by crawling round it to the right. The wild elephants also came in companies and strewed flowers at the tope; all this went on without intermission. When king Asoka was dispersing the Buddha-relics of the eight topes, having taken away those of seven of the topes, he came to Rāma in order to carry off the relics in its tope also. As he was about to begin work the dragon of the tank, afraid of being dispossessed, changed himself into a brahmin and tapping the [king's] elephant in the face, said —"Your Majesty's kindness extends to all Buddhadom, and you have largely sown the seeds of good works. I venture to beg you to dismount and deign to visit my abode". Asoka accepted the invitation, and followed the dragon to his palace. There overpowered by the splendour of the dragon's paraphernalia for the worship of the relics, he granted the dragon's petition, and abandoned the idea of rifling the tope. A memorial at the place of coming out from the tank recorded the event.

The situation here assigned to Rāma agrees with that given by Fa-hsien who places it five yojanas to the east of the place where the Buddha was born.[1] The Fang-chih also agrees with the Records, but the Life makes Rāma to be above 500 *li* (about 100 miles) east from Kapilavastu, and this distance agrees roughly with that given in some of the Buddhist books, that is, thirteen Yojanas.

Some texts of the Life place the Relic Tope to the east of the old capital, and some make its height to be only fifty feet. The Life also does not make any mention

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 23.

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of the dragon of the tank changing himself into a snake, but states that he often assumed the form of a man and performed pradakshiṇa to the tope.

For the words in the above passage "tapping the [king's] elephant in the face, said" the original is *Ch'ien-k'ou-hsiang-yue* (前叩象曰), and Julien translates this— "se prosternant aux pieds de l'éléphant, lui parle ainsi". This rendering is manifestly wrong from every point of view. The phrase *k'ou-hsiang* here means to *tap* or *strike the elephant* as *k'ou-ma* is to *tap a horse*. But these phrases are used figuratively in the senses of *boldly, sternly, seriously,* and it is not necessary to suppose that any actual tapping or knocking takes place. In the present passage the word "king's", which I have added, is really not needed, and we are only to understand that the dragon-brahmin faced the king, and addressed to him an earnest remonstrance.

The story of king Asoka and the dragon who guarded the Relic Tope at Rāma is told in several Buddhist books with variations. The Divyāvadāna, like our pilgrim's narrative, represents king Asoka as going to the Nāga's Relic Tope, and on seeing the nāga's worship, as going away without interfering with the sacred relics.[1] But the "Tsa-a-han-ching" represents Asoka as carrying off the relics in the tope in spite of the dragon's remonstrances.[2] The Sinhalese have a legend about the nāga (or also nāgas) and this tope. According to one of their books the relics were removed from Rāmagāma (probably the Rāma of our author) by supernatural means to Ceylon; but this is a late and local fiction.[3]

> Near to the Relic Tope, the pilgrim records, was the Śrāmaṇera Monastery so called because its temporal affairs were always managed by a śrāmaṇera or unordained Brother.

We have a short history of the origin of this Monastery, and the account given agrees in the main with the narra-

[1] Divyāv. p. 380.

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 23.

[3] Mah. *ch.* 31. See Rhys Davids on these legends; J. R. A. S. 1901, pp. 397—410.

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tive by Fa-hsien at whose time the establishment was a recent institution. Yuan-chuang found in it only a small number of Brethren, who were very civil and hospitable.

> From the Śrāmaṇera Monastery the pilgrim, we are told, went east through a great wood above 100 *li* (about 20 miles) to a great Asoka tope. This was at the place where the Prince (the P'usa) made a halt, having gone over the city-wall of Kapilavastu at midnight and ridden on until daylight. Here also he gave expression to the settled purpose of his life in these words—"Here I go out of prison, put off fetters, unyoke for the last time".[1] Then the Prince took the jewel from his crown and handed it to his groom Chaṇḍaka to take back to the king, his father. At the same time he gave the groom this message to the king— "My present retirement to a great distance is not a wanton separation from you—I desire to have done with impermanence and put an end to moral defects". Then he spoke words of comfort to the disconsolate servant, and sent him back.

Fa-hsien agrees with our pilgrim in placing the tope of the "sending back" at about 20 miles east from the Śrāmaṇera Monastery, but he does not ascribe the tope to Asoka. So also in the Lalitavistara[2], and in other works where this tope is mentioned it is merely said to have been erected by "people of after times". It was known as the Tope of Chandaka's Return, that is, the tope which marked the spot where the Prince's groom began his journey back to Kapilavastu with his master's horse. But the Chinese scriptures are not agreed as to the precise locality at which the parting between the Prince and Chandaka took place, some representing it as at a much greater distance than 20 miles from Kapilavastu.

> To the east of the tope of Chandaka's Returning was a dead jambu, tree and at the side of this was a small tope. It was here that the Prince (the P'usa) exchanged his princely robes

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[1] The Chinese for this soliloquy is— 是我出籠縶去羈鎖最後釋駕之處, and Julien translates— "Aujourd'hui, je sors enfin de ma prison et je brise mes liens. Ce fut en cet endroit qu'il quitta son char pour la dernière fois." This rendering mistranslates the first word of the sentence, and ignores the construction.

[2] Lalitavistara, Foucaux, p. 214.

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for the deer-skin dress given to him by a hunter who was Indra in disguise.

Near this spot was an Asoka tope to mark the place at which the P'usa cut off his hair, and had his head shaved by a deva; the hair cut off was taken by Indra to Heaven to be an object of worship.

The pilgrim next mentions incidentally that accounts varied as to the age of the P'usa when he went out from home, some making him nineteen, and some twenty nine years old at the time. So also, he tells us, authorities differed as to whether it was on the 8th or the 15th day of the second half of the month Viśākha that the Prince left his home to begin the religious life.

From the Head-shaving Tope the pilgrim travelled, he tells us, south-east through a wild country for more than 180 *li* (about 36 miles) to a Banyan Grove which had a tope above 30 feet in height. This, he says, was the Embers Tope built by the brahmins of the place over the charcoal fragments which they found at the scene of the Buddha's cremation. These brahmins arrived too late to obtain a share of the actual relics, and they were allowed to take a portion of the dead embers— "ashes-charcoal" —from "the place of cremation". Carrying these to their native place the brahmins there erected this shrine for the worship of the embers; ever since its erection the tope has given miraculous testimonies, and at it many prayers of the afflicted have been answered.

In an old monastery near the Embers Tope were remains of the sitting-place and exercise-walk of the Four Past Buddhas. Then on either side of this monastery, the pilgrim adds, were some hundreds of topes among which was one built by king Asoka which, although in ruins, still shewed more than 100 feet above ground.

In this passage Yuan-chuang places the Embers Tope in the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, and this agrees with a Tibetan account translated by Mr. Rockhill.[1] In it it is only one Brahmin, named Nyagrodha from the Nyagrodhika country, who obtains the embers. In the Pali account of the distribution of the relics it is "the Moriyas of Pipphalavana" who come late to the scene of the cremation, and have to be content with the remnants of burnt fuel.[2] So also in two Chinese writings the "Chang-

[1] Rockhill, Life, p. 147.

[2] Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Suttas' (S. B. E. Vol. XI.) p. 134.

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a-han-ching" and the "Mahāmāya-ching", it is *Pi-po* (that is Pippala) villagers who get the embers.[1] One treatise, the "Pan-ni-huan-ching", has an Embers Tope, and also an Ashes Tope, erected by different men at different places;[2] the former is built by a *Tao-shi*, or saintly recluse, and the latter by a brahmin; but neither of these topes seems to have been at a place near Rāmagrāma. The "Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching" agrees with the "Pan-ni-huan-ching" as to the erection of an Embers and an Ashes Tope, and places the latter in the *Che-ka-kie* country.[3] In the "Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching",[4] however, there is only the Embers Tope and it seems to be located at Kuśinagara.

The "Rāma Country" of the Chinese pilgrims, the Rāma Village (Rāmagrāma) of various writers, seems to have been little known until it attained celebrity for its tope containing bodily relics of Gautama Buddha. And it is interesting to observe that in the accounts of the division of the relics which assign a portion to Rāmagrāma there are some differences of detail, and that all accounts do not agree in assigning a share to this place. In the Pali sūtra of the "Great Decease" the "Koliyas of Rāmagāma" go to Kusinārā and obtain an eighth share of the relics; so also in a Vinaya treatise the *Kou-lu-lo* of *Lo-mo* (Rāma) obtain a share.[5] In the Pali version from which Bigandet's information was obtained it was the "king of Rama" who took action in the matter.[6] In the appendix to the Mahāmāya-ching it is the *Kou-li* (Koli) people of *Lo-mo-ka* (Rāmaka, or for Rāmagrāma) who obtain the relics, and so in the "Yu-hsing-ching" of the Ch'ang-a-han-ching, and also in the Pan-ni-huan-ching where the name of the country is given as *k'o-lo* (可樂) that is "Enjoyable",

[1] Ch'ang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 4: Mahāmāya-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 382).
[2] Pan-ni-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 119).
[3] Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 552).
[4] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 118).
[5] Rhys Davids, S. B. E. Vol. XI. p. 132: Shih-sung-lü, *ch.* 60 (No. 1115).
[6] Bigandet, 'Legend' Vol. II. p. 92.

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evidently for Rāma. But in no other of the Nirvāṇa treatises in Chinese translations, so far as I know, is there any mention of Rāmagrāma in connection with the distribution of the Buddha's relics. And the Tibetan text translated by Rockhill is also apparently without the name of either the country Rāma, or the people Koliya, in this matter. But Rockhill thinks that the *Sgra-sgrogs* of his text may be Rāmagrāma, and the Kshatriya "Krodtya of Sgra-sgrogs" obtained a share, and this was "honoured by a king of nāgas".[1]

The Lalitavistara and some other treatises which treat of the subject do not mention Rāmagrāma as the first halting place of Prince Siddhartha in his flight from home, the place where he sent back his groom and horse, exchanged garments with the hunter, and had his head shaven.

It is unnecessary now to notice the opinious of General Cunningham and Mr. Carlleyle as to the modern representative of the Rāma of our pilgrims. Further researches in the Nepāl Terai may lead to the discovery of some trustworthy indication as to the site of the old city. To some of the Buddhist writers it was evidently a frontier or a foreign place beyond what was known to them as Jambudvīpa or India. It has been identified with the Devadaha or Koli of the Sakyas mentioned in the romances about the origin of the family from which Gautama Buddha sprang, and there is much in favour of the identification.

KUŚINAGARA.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that "from this" (that is apparently, from the vicinity of the Embers Tope) he went north-east through a great forest, the road being a narrow dangerous path, with wild oxen and wild elephants, and robbers and hunters always in wait to kill travellers, and emerging from the forest he reached the country of *Kou-shih-na-ka-lo* (Kuśinagara). The city walls were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted. The brick foundations of the "old city" (that is,

[1] Rockhill, 'Life' p. 145 and 147: As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 315.

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> the city which had been the capital) were above ten *li* in circuit; there were very few inhabitants the interior of the city being a wild waste.

Here, it will be noticed, the pilgrim departing from his usual custom does not give the distance which he travelled. Fa-hsien, however, tells us that the distance from the Embers Tope east to Kuśinagara was twelve yojanas[1] (about 480 *li*), and the Fang-chih gives the distance as 500 *li*. As the Embers Tope was about 50 miles from Rāmagrāma the distance from that city to Kuśinagara was apparently about 140 or 150 miles in an easterly direction. Then in one of the Nirvāṇa sūtras we are told that from Rājagaha to Kuśinagara was a journey of twelve yojanas.[2]

The utter ruin and desolation of the city and district of Kuśinagara are noted by Fa-hsien, one of whose expressive terms about the solitude of the capital is applied to it by our pilgrim.

> Within the capital in its north-east corner was an Asoka tope on the site of the house of *Chun-t'ê* (Chunda), and on the premises was a well dug at the time when [Chunda] was making preparations for the entertainment [of the Buddha and his disciples] the water of which had remained clear and fresh.

For the words "Within the capital" here the Chinese is *Ch'êng-nei*. This is the reading in all the texts except B which has the faulty reading *Ch'êng-mên* or "City gate", the reading which Julien had before him.

The story of Chunda the blacksmith giving the Buddha his last breakfast is told in several books. But in these Chunda is generally described as a resident of Pāvā and as giving the great entertainment there. Thus the "Yu-hsing-ching", the Pali "Mahā-Parinibbāna sutta" or "Sūtra of the Great Decease", and a Tibetan work, all make Pāvā to be the place of Chunda's residence and the scene of the beakfast to the Buddha.[3] In the Mahāyānist

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 24.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching, *ch.* 17 (No. 114).

[3] Yu-hsing-ching in Ch'ang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 3; 'Buddhist Suttas'

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sūtra Ta-pan-ni-huan-ching, however, it is at Kuśinagara that Chunda lives, and entertains Buddha and his disciples.[1] Fa-hsien does not make mention of Chunda's house in Kusinagara; and our pilgrim's account may have been derived from books rather than from personal knowledge. He had evidently read Mahā-Parinirvāṇa sūtra in the translation by Dharmaraksha made about A. D. 420. When Buddha intimated his acceptance of the invitation to breakfast from Chunda, the latter set himself to prepare a great feast. In the Pali Mahāparinibbāna Sutta Chunda, the artificer's son, is represented as setting before the Buddha on this occasion a dish of *sūkaramaddava*. No one of the disciples was allowed to eat of this particular food, and what remained over was buried in the ground. The word sūkaramaddava has been generally understood to mean a preparation of pig's flesh; and Dr. Rhys Davids translates it in one place by "dried boar's flesh", and in another place by "tender pork"[2]. But he is not satisfied with the interpretations and explanations given of the word, and he is evidently inclined to regard it as a name for some vegetable article of food. This view is taken also by K. E. Neumann who gives reasons for regarding the word as denoting some kind of edible fungus.[3] Now it is remarkable that neither in the Tibetan, nor in any of the Chinese accounts of the death of the Buddha is there any mention of pork at the last breakfast. Nor is it mentioned in the Mahāyānist books on the Great Decease, nor in the account of Chunda's feast given in the Sarvata Vinaya. In the "Yu-hsing-ching" the dainty reserved by Chunda for the Buddha is called "Sandal-wood-tree-ear", or "San-

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by Dr Rhys Davids p. 70 (S. B. E. Vol. XI); Rockhill's 'Life', p. 132 note 2 and p. 133.

[1] *Ch.* 3 (No. 120). So also in the Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 113).

[2] 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 72: 'Questions of king Milinda', Vol. I p. 243 and note.

[3] 'Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's', vol 1. p. XIX.

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dal-wood-ear".[1] By these names is probably indicated a tree-fungus, or some aromatic mushroom. In the Chinese language a common name for any parasitical tree-fungus is *mu-erh* (木耳) or "tree-ear", and among Buddhist monks and their friends mushrooms are well known as *Ho-shang-jou* or "Monks' flesh-meat". I agree with Neumann that the pious blacksmith was not likely to cook pickled pork for the Buddha, and think that *fungus* or *mushroom* should be taken to be the meaning of sūkaramaddava.

> The pilgrim now goes on to describe the scene of the Buddha's Parīnirvāṇa, the Great Decease. He states that three or four *li* to the north-west of the capital, on the other side of the Ajitavati river, and not far from the west bank of the river, was the Śāla Grove. The Śāla tree he describes as like the the Chinese oak with a greenish-white bark and very glossy leaves. Among the Sāl trees of the grove were four of extraordinary size, and it was at these the Ju-lai passed away. In the large brick temple (or chaitya, *ching-shê*) at the place was an image (or representation) of *Ju-lai-nie-pan* (that is, of the Buddha dead) lying with his head to the north. Beside this temple was a tope, built by Asoka, which though in ruins was still above 200 feet high. In front of the tope was a stone pillar, on which were recorded the circumstances of the Buddha's decease, but the day and the month were not given. The pilgrim, however, ascertained from records that the Buddha lived 80 years, and died on the last day of the month Vaiśākha (April-May), but the Sarvāstivādins held that he passed away on the 8th day of the second half of the month Kārthika (October-November). There were also, the pilgrim adds, differences of statement as to the time which had elapsed since the Buddha's death, some authorities giving above 1200 years, some 1300, some 1500, and some only above 900 and under 1000.

As to the river mentioned in this passage, a note added to the text explains the word Ajitavati as meaning *wu-shêng* (無[illegible]) or "Invincible", and adds that this was the general name for the river at the pilgrim's time. It also states that an old name for this river was *A-li-lo-po-t'i*; but the second character in the transcription has been

[1] Chang-a-han-ching l. c.

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shown to be a mistake; it should be replaced by *i* (夷), giving the name Airāvatī. Another designation for this river is given in the note as *Shi-la-na-fa-ti*, that is Siranyavati for Hiraṇyavati, with *ho* added, explained as meaning "the river with gold". It was evidently a variety of this last name which Fa-hsien transcribed by *Hi-lien* (希 連).

The Buddhist books do not give us much information as to the situation, relative to Kuśinagara, of the place at which the Buddha died. Bigandet, probably quoting from a Pali authority, tells us that the forest of Sal trees was to the south-west of the city.[1] The "Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta" merely gives the scene of the Great Decease as the "sāla grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusināra, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati".[2] With this the description in the "Lien-hua-mien-ching" agrees closely,[3] and the other accounts are similar. Fa-hsien places the Sal Grove on the Hiraṇyavati river, and to the north of the city Kuśinagara. Instead of the tope which Yuan-chuang here mentions, as having been built on the spot by Asoka, we find a chaitya in the Dīvyāvadāna.[4] It is worthy of notice that the place at which the Buddha passed away for ever was the only object pointed out to Asoka by Upagupta while the two were at Kuśinagara.

We have next our pilgrim's accounts of the Francolin and Deer Jātakas apropos of two topes near the Temple of the Buddha's Decease said to commemorate the events which form the culminating points of these stories. In the former Jātaka as related by the pilgrim the Francolin, that is the P'usa, by his earnestness of speech and action, induces Indra to put out a forest fire which was making great havoc among the living creatures in this district. In the latter Jātaka the Deer, that is the P'usa, at the expense of his own life saves the other creatures of the forest here, who fleeing from a great fire were being drowned in their attempt to cross the river. The tope over the remains of the P'usa-Deer, who was drowned after saving the

[1] Bigandet, 'Legend' Vol. II. p. 46.
[2] Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 85.
[3] Lien-hua-mien-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 465).
[4] p. 394.

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last of the animals, the lame hare, was built, according to Yuan-chuang, at this place by the devas.

The two Jātakas here summarized are told with some differences of detail in other works. Thus in the "Francolin Jātaka" as told in a wellknown śāstra the bird soaks his feathers in water, and then shakes himself in the burning forest; when Indra tries the sincerity of his compassion the Francolin says he is ready to go on until death; by the force of his merit and faith the fire is extinguished and since that time the forest has enjoyed an exemption, from great conflagrations.[1] In other versions of the Deer Jātaka instead of a *lame hare* we have a *fawn* as the last creature to be saved. This last animal was Subhadra in a previous birth, and as a man Subhadra was the last to be saved from sin and sorrow by the Buddha.[2]

Near the tope of the Life-saving Deer, the pilgrim next relates, was a tope which had been erected on the spot where Subhadra died, and we are treated to a short account of the circumstances attending the conversion, ordination, and death of this man as Yuan-chuang knew them. When the Buddha was on his death-bed and on the day before he died Subhadra, who was a brahmin teacher 120 years old, came to the Twin Trees to see Buddha, and obtain from him the solution of some doubts and difficulties. Ānanda refused to admit the old enquirer fearing he would weary the Master, but Subhadra urged his request and he was finally admitted. Then addressing the Buddha he said— "There are the self-styled Masters of the [six] other Communities all with different systems of doctrine which they teach for the guidance of lay-people— Does Gautama know these all"? To this the Buddha made answer— "I have made myself thoroughly acquained with them all, and will describe them to you". When Subhadra heard this, he believed and understood with pure mind, and then he prayed to be admitted into the Order. Buddha then told him that a four years' probation was required before the professed adherent of another system could receive ordination as a bhikshu in the Buddhist brotherhood The probation, he said, was to allow the conduct and disposition of the applicant to be observed, and if his deportment were found to be correct, and his language truthful, he could become a

[1] See Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 16.

[2] Cf. Rockhill's 'Life', p. 136: Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 30.

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bhikshu— "But it depends on the individual's conduct", added the Buddha, "and there is no difficulty [in your case]". To this Subhadra replied— "The Lord is compassionate and an impartial Saviour. Let there be four years of probation; my three organs [mouth, body, and mind] will be in accordance with what is right". To this the Buddha replied— "I have already said— "it depends on the individual's conduct" ". So Subhadra was admitted into the Order, and ordained as a bhikshu. He thereupon devoted all his energies to the attainment of spiritual perfection, and early in the night realized in himself the state of arhatship. Then as he could not bear to see the death of the Master he, in the presence of the congregation, made miraculous manifestations and passed away by the samādhi of elemental fire.

This version of the story of Subhadra follows to a large extent the "Yu-hsing-ching", sometimes using the very words of that interesting sūtra. But the narrative of the conversion, ordination, and death of this last disciple is told also in several other treatises. We find, moreover, mention of a work called the "Sūtra of the Brahmachārin Subhadra", but the account given in it differs in some important points from that given in the other books.[1] According to the "Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching" and the "Yu-hsin-ching" Subhadra was a Brahmachārin, and according to the "Ta-pan-nie-pan-ching", the "Tsa-a-han-ching", Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan text, and the Sarvata Vinaya, he was a parivrājika.[2] Nearly all authorities describe him as a feeble old man of 120 years residing in Kuśinagara, We are also told that he was a man of great learning and wisdom, possessing superhuman powers, and held in high esteem by the inhabitants of Kusinagara who regarded him as an arhat. He had been puzzled, however, by difficulties in religious matters caused by the disputes and conflicting doctrines of the six (in one treatise eight) great religious teachers of his time, and by the inconsistencies in the lives of these men. Then at a later period of his life the Sakya Gautama had arisen as a new leader with

[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 3.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 37; Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 4; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 3 (No. 118); Tsa-a-han-ching, *ch.* 35; Rockhill's Life l. c.; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 38.

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new doctrines about karma and nirvāṇa and had instituted a new Brotherhood. So now hearing that Gautama had come to the suburbs of Kusinagara in a dying state, the old saint went to see him and learn from him the truth about his own system and the systems of the six Teachers. Finding Ananda keeping guard he asked to be admitted to the Master; but Ananda refused him admission and repeated the refusal to the old man's renewed petition. The reason which Ananda gave was that the Master was in great pain and dying, and so was not to be disturbed. But the Buddha hearing the conversation, ordered that the enquirer be allowed to see him and Subhadra was admitted. After due salutation performed the old saint being encouraged by Buddha stated his difficulties. The six Teachers, he said naming them, all disagreed and he wanted to know which of them was right; were they, as they professed to be, omniscient? Were they higher in attainments than or otherwise superior to Gautama himself? were they right in their tenets as to what constituted a Śramaṇa?[1] Replying to Subhadra the Buddha, according to one account, says that before he left home to become a religious mendicant all the world was beguiled by the Six Teachers and that he had not seen the reality of a Śramana among them.[2] Then the Buddha goes on to say—"At the age of 29 years, Subhadra, I became a mendicant to learn the way of life *(tao)*: at the age of 36 years under the Bodhi tree I thought out thoroughly the Eight-fold holy path, gained perfect spiritual insight, and acquired omniscience. I then went to Benares and taught the Four Truths to Ājñāta Kaundinya and the four others. When these men got on the track of the way of life the name *Śramaṇa* was pronounced for the first time". In the Pali Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta the Buddha says to Subhadra, according to Dr. Rhys Davids's translation—

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[1] See 'Buddhist Suttas' p. 103; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 36 (No. 114); Fo-pan-nie-huan-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 552).

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 118).

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"But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really 'saint' can be.[1]

Exception may be taken to this rendering though it is followed in the German translation by Hardy in his "Der Buddhismus".[2] One Chinese version of the passage gives us the following— "When I was twenty-nine years old I became an ascetic to seek goodness (*shan-tao*). Subhadra, fifty years have gone since I became Buddha: the practice of discipline, samādhi, and spiritual wisdom I now declare the essentials of my system: outside of it there is not a śramaṇa."[3] In other books the Buddha tells Subhadra that for fifty years he had thought in solitude on the practice of samādhi, a pure life, and spiritual wisdom. These Chinese translations were apparently made from Sanskrit originals, and not from the Pali text here given. Thus the mention of samādhi must be due to the presence of a word meaning "practising samādhi", and probably the phrase "and one year more" is not the meaning of samādhikāni in the Pali text. Then for "through the wide realms" (padesavatti) the Sanskrit was probably pradeśavartin, which the translators took to mean "occupied with the exposition of". The last line of the quotation is a separate sentence, as the text

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[1] The original is—

Ekūnatiṃso vayasā Subhadda
Yam pabbajiṃ kiṃkusalānuesī.
Vassāni paññāsasamādhikāni
Yato ahaṃ pabbajito Subhadda,
Ñāyassa dhammassa padesavattī.
Ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi n'atthi.

Dīgha, II. 149 (P. T. S.).

[2] S. 44. See also Mr Warren's version in 'Buddhism in Translations', p. 106.

[3] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 4. See also Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 35.

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shews, and means— "Outside of Buddhism there is no Śramaṇa."[1]

The Buddha next proceeds to communicate to Subhadra the Four Noble Truths and the Eight-fold Path, teaching him that it is only in a religion which has these there can be a true śramaṇa proceeding through the three inferior stages to the perfection of arhatship.[2] Subhadra is delighted with the Buddha's teaching, professes himself a convert, and prays to be ordained a bhikshu. Buddha in reply to this request tells Subhadra that a professed disciple of another system is required to be four months on probation before he can be ordained as a Buddhist bhikshu. But he adds that there "is an individual difference", that is, that individual applicants of known good character may be ordained without undergoing a period of probation. Subhadra, however, according to the Mahā-Parinibbāna-sūtta and the Yu-hsing-ching replies that he is ready to undergo a probation of *four years*. But an exception is made in his favour and he is at once ordained, the difference being made on account of his high moral and religious reputation. Immediately after his ordination Subhadra applies himself earnestly to the work of self-perfection, and in a very short time becomes an arhat. As he cannot bear to see the Buddha die, having obtained the desired permission, he passes away before the Buddha.

In some Buddhist treatises the story of the last disciple

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[1] But some of the Chinese versions do not seem to have separated the last line from the one before. If a full stop is not put at *padesavatti* we may perhaps take the two lines as meaning something like this— "engaged in teaching the rule of life and true religion, and outside of these there is no samaṇa". By *nyāya* here is meant, we are told, the Eightfold path as a practical rule of conduct, and by *dhamma* the religious teaching of Buddha guiding opinion and belief, and without these there was no samaṇa.

[2] Buddha makes a similar statement to his bhikshus in *Ch.* 26 of the Chung-a-han-ching— "In *this* are the samaṇas of the four degrees and outside of *this* there are not samaṇa brahmins: all other systems are void and without samaṇa brahmins". The *this* of the above extract, the *ito* and *idha* of Pali, means "my religion", Buddha's system.

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is told without any mention of a rule as to four months' probation,[1] and in others the rule is made after Subhadra's ordination.[2] The Vinaya gives the rule; but all Sakyas, Jaṭilas and Fire-worshippers were to be exempt from its operation.[3] So also in the Wa-fên Vinaya and the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya we have the rule made, and in the latter treatise the circumstances which led to its being made are given.[4] In representing Buddha as telling Subhadra that the rules required four *years'* probation Yuan-chuang apparently makes a slip, as there is no mention of such a rule in the canonical books. Subhadra's profession of readiness to undergo a four years' probation reminds us of the ordination of the naked ascetic Kāśyapa. When the latter was told that he must go through four months' probation before he could be ordained he expressed his willingness to let the months be years.[5]

The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that beside the tope of Subhadra's Decease was one on the spot at which the Vajrapāṇi fell to the ground in a swoon. He then describes the circumstances of this incident as follows— The Lord of great compassion who made his beneficial appearance at the proper time (that is, the Buddha) having accomplished his work entered the bliss of Extinction lying with his head to the north at the Twin Sāla trees. The Vajrapāṇi deity Guhyapadi (?)-Malla seeing that the Buddha had gone into Extinction cried out in sorrow— "The Ju-lai has abandoned me and gone into the Great Nirvāna; I have no one in whom to put my trust, no one to protect me, the arrow of distress (lit. poison-arrow) has entered deep and the fire of sorrow is burning me fiercely". Then throwing down his vajra (adamant club) he fell in a swoon to the ground. Recovering consciousness he condoled with the others over their common loss in the death of the

[1] *e. g.* Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 35; Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 118): Rockhill's 'Life' p. 139 where the Sakyas and Jaṭilas are excepted from the operation of the rule.

[3] Vin. I. 69, 71. Cf. the Sabhiya Sutta in S. B. E. Vol. X. p. 95.

[4] Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 17; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 34.

[5] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 16; Dīgha Nik. Vol. I. p. 176 (P. T. S.).

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Buddha their Light and Saviour in the ocean of mortal existence.

The words here rendered "the Vajrapāṇi deity Guhyapadi (?)-Malla" are in the original *chih-chin-kang-shên-mi-chi-li-shi* (𨈆金剛神密迹力士), which Julien translates— "Alors des génies, armés d'une massue de diamant". Here, to pass over smaller matters, we find that the last four characters of the original are omitted from the translation. The whole of the passage, which is evidently derived from an old Chinese translation of a sūtra, refers to the conduct of the yaksha Vajrapāṇi-Guhyapadi (?)-Malla at the moment of the Buddha's death. Our author's *chih-chin-kang* (in other works *Chin-kang*, or *chin-kang-shu* (手) "adamant hand") is for Vajrapāṇi: *Mi-chi*, or "secret traces", the personal name of the Yaksha, is supposed to be for "Guhyapadi", but there is also the rendering *pi-mi-chu*, or "Lord of the secret", which seems to require a form like Guhyapati: then *li-shi* or "athlete" is for Malla. This Yaksha had for many years been a devoted personal attendant on the Buddha whom he accompanied on the great aerial journey to the far north.[1] He always bore in one hand an adamantine club or hammer, and hence his epithet Vajrapāṇi. With this club he was always ready to smash a rock, or a man's head, in the service of the Master. When the Nirgrantha of Vaiśāli would not answer Buddha's question Vajrapāṇi threatened to break his head in seven pieces.[2] So also in the Dīgha-Nikāya, when Ambaṭṭha sullenly refuses to speak out, "Vajirapāṇi yakkho" threatens to smash his head in seven pieces with his blazing-hot hammer.[3] This yaksha is represented as joining the Buddhist Church, "seeing truth" and becoming a bodhisattva. As a p'usa he preaches on prajñā pāramitā to a great congregation, but he is still a chief of yakshas with a palace in the wild land of the

[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 9.
[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching *ch.* 30.
[3] Ambaṭṭha sutta (D. 1. 95) and Sum. Vil. Vol. I. p. 264 (P. T. S.).

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demons.[1] Yuan-chuang and Fa-hsien seem to know of only one Vajrapāṇi at the death of the Buddha, and other authors also mention only one.[2] But there may have been in the opinion of all narrators a company of yakshas present with *Mi-chih* at their head. Indeed the Lien-hua-mien-ching makes this Vajrapāṇi the chief of millions of yakshas all present at the Buddha's decease.[3] Yuan-chuang, we have seen, calls him a *shên* or *god*, but it is not right to identify him, as some have done, with Indra (Sakko). The throwing down of his club by Vajrapāṇi, his falling in a swoon, and his exclamations of sad despair, are all related in various Chinese treatises.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that near the tope of Vajrapāṇi's Swoon was another tope to mark the spot at which the newly deceased Buddha was worshipped for seven days by the devas. He tells us that as the Ju-lai was dying (lit. about to be extinguished) a bright light shone everywhere. All present were moved with sorrow and they said one to another— "The Lord of great enlightenment is now about to pass into extinction: the religious merit (that is, the means of acquiring merit) of creatures is exhausted and the world is resourceless." But the Buddha as he lay on his right side on his bed said to the multitude— "Say not the Ju-lai is undergoing final extinction: his spiritual presence abides for ever aloof from all change: ye should cast off sloth and seek betimes for Emancipation (that is, Nirvāṇa)." The bhikshus, however, continued to wail and weep until Aniruddha rebuked them saying— "Stop, lament not: the devas will chide you". When the Mallas had performed their services of reverence to the dead body of the Buddha they wished to remove the coffin to the place of cremation, but Aniruddha made them leave it where it was for seven days. This he did at the desire of the devas who wished to pay worship to the Buddha's body. Then the devas came through the air, bearing exquisite celestial flowers, and chanting the praises of Buddha, and then they offered worship to his body.

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[1] Ta-chi-tu-lun *ch.* 33: Ta-pao-chi-ching, *chs.* 8 to 14. (No. 23 (3)).

[2] Fo-ju-nie-p'an-mi-chi-chin-kang-li-shi-ai-lien-ching (No. 1332), that is, The Sūtra of the loving distress of Guhyapada (?) Vajrapāṇi Malla on the Buddha's nirvāṇa.

[3] Ch. 2.

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In this very interesting passage the words "his spiritual presence" represent the Chinese *fa-shên* (法身), a term which has occurred already in the account of Kapitha and we are to meet with it again. The *fa-shên* of the Buddha is explained in several ways by the different schools. Thus it is the "body of religion", that is, the canon of scripture, or the teachings of all Buddhas. This includes the unwritten traditions, the doctrines and practices of all true Buddhist teachers from Kāśyapa downwards.[1] In a very interesting old treatise, with which Yuan-chuang was evidently familiar, we find the Buddha in his last instructions to his disciples saying to them—"Henceforth the observances of all my disciples in succession constitute the Tathāgata's *fa-shên* eternal and imperishable". Then the *fa-shên* is also the "spiritual body" of the Tathāgata, that is, the eternal immutable substance which is Buddha in all phases and changes of his material existence, and which survives these accidents for ever. "Buddha," we read, "means an individual, *fa-shên* means the eternal."[2] Again we are told that "the Ju-lai's (Tathāgata's) body is one which abides for ever, it is indestructible, adamantine, independent of the various kinds of food, it is the *fa-shên*". It was perhaps in this latter sense that the Mahāyānists interpreted the term as used by the Buddha to his disciples on his death-bed. The reader will notice that in the above passage Yuan-chuang, following the Yu-hsing-ching, represents Aniruddha (in other texts Anaruddha and Aṇuruddha) as requesting the Brethren to cease wailing *otherwise the devas will chide them.* This confirms Dr. Rhys Davids's reading and translation in the "Book of the Great Decease",— "Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us".[3] According to most authorities it was not the "gold coffin" containing the Buddha's body which

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[1] Chiao-shêng-fa-shu *ch.* 5 (No. 1636); Fo-chui-pan-nie-p'an-liao-shuo-chiao-chie-ching (No. 122).

[2] Ta-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 3 (No. 113).

[3] 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 119 and note.

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was kept for seven days at the place where he died but only the body itself on a bier also called "golden". It was not until the body was removed to the place of cremation that it was swathed and coffined, but there is also authority for our pilgrim's version of the story.

> Yuan-chuang next relates that near the place where the Golden Coffin was detained for seven days there was a tope to commemorate the weeping of the lady Mahāmāyā, the Buddha's mother, over her dead son. As soon as the deceased Ju-lai was coffined Aniruddha ascended to Paradise and informed Māyā of the death of the Buddha. When that lady received the news she at once came down with a company of devas to the place where the coffin rested at the Twin Sāl trees. While she was weeping at the sight of her son's bowl, and robe, and staff, and lamenting the helpless state of mankind deprived of their Light and Lord, the coffin-lid was raised by the Buddha's power, and he sat up in the coffin with folded hands, and addressed some words of farewell comfort to his mother, as a lesson for the unfilial of after times, as he stated to Ānanda in reply to the latter's question.

The story of Mahā Māyā coming down from her place in Paradise to weep over her dead son the Buddha, is told in several Buddhist treatises. Yuan-chuang had evidently read it in the "Mahāmāyā-ching" with the account in which his largely agrees.[1] Some of his expressions such as "the happiness of men and devas is exhausted", "the world's eye is extinguished", occur in that treatise. It also gives Ānanda's question as to how the occurrence was to be described for the benefit of posterity and the Buddha's reply. It is to be noted that the older Nirvāṇa treatises such as the "Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta", the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching", and the "Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching", do not make any mention of Mahā Māyā coming down to weep over her dead son.

> Continuing his description the pilgrim relates that to the north of the city, above 300 paces on the other side of the river, was a tope at the place of the Buddha's cremation. He states that the ground there was still of a yellowish black colour, the soil

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[1] Mahāmāyā-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382).

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having a mixture of ashes and charcoal, and that people praying there in perfect good faith might get relics. The Buddha's coffin, he tells us, was made of the seven precious substances, his body was wrapped in 1000 folds of cotton: with incense and flowers and banners and sunshades the Mallas bore the coffin, and formed an escort to it, crossing to the north of the Golden River. Using abundance of fragrant oil and sweet-scented wood they set fire to the pile; the fold of cotton next the body and the outside fold remained unburnt; for the sake of living creatures the rest of the body (*shê-li* for sarira) was reduced to atoms (lit. separated and dispersed), the hair and nails alone remaining uninjured.

In placing the tope of the cremation of Buddha to the north of Kuśinagara Yuan-chuang follows the Yu-hsing-ching but differs from nearly all the other authorities. According to the Pali and Tibetan texts and the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching" the cremation occurred outside of the east gate of the city, while the "Pan-ni-huan-ching" and other texts describe it as taking place outside the west gate. The particular spot where it occurred was at the Malla's Makuṭa (or Makula)-bandhana-chaitya, in Csoma's translation from the Tibetan "the chaitya that has a head ornament tied on by the champions".[1] *Makuṭa-bandhana* means a *diadem-band* or *turban*, and the name of the spot is rendered in Chinese by *T'ien-kuan-chih-t'i* (天冠支提) the "Chaitya of the Deva (or Royal) tiara", and by *Chuang-shi-hi-kuan* (壯士繫冠) *chih-t'i*, the "Chaitya of the Mallas' diadem-binding. In some texts, however, we have the name transcribed *Chu-li-p'o-tan*, that is, the Chūli (for chūla or chūḍa)-bandhana with *tien* added, meaning the Shrine of Diadem-binding. We find also other names such as the *T'ien-kuan-ssŭ*, and *Hao-kuan-chih-t'i* or the "Diadem chaitya". One account places the scene of cremation at the temple of the god *U-ch'a* (溫荼), perhaps for Ojas, outside the city on the west side.[2]

Beside the Cremation Tope, our pilgrim continues, was a tope

[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 313. Cf. Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 37 where we have a similar rendering of the name.

[2] There is also the reading 瘟荼 for oṭa, the name of a wild animal, and also of a god or demon. Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.

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on the spot where the dead Buddha put his feet out of the coffin to show them to Mahākāśyapa. When the Ju-lai's golden coffin had descended, he relates, and the funeral pile was ready it could not be ignited. Aniruddha explained to the trembling crowd that the cremation could not take place until Kāśyapa was present. When the latter arrived from the forest with his 500 disciples he asked Ānanda to allow him to see the Buddha's body. As this was swathed in 1000 folds of cloth Ānanda refused to open the coffin, but the dead Buddha caused the lid to rise, and then put out his feet to let Kāśyapa see them. This disciple observing that the feet were discoloured, asked Ānanda for the explanation, and was told that the stains were due to the excessive weeping of the crowds of devas and men at the moment of the Buddha's death. When Kāśyapa had finished his services of honour to the deceased Master the sweet-scented wood was spontaneously ignited, and made a great fire.

The story of Mahā Kāśyapa and the coffined Buddha condensed in this passage agrees, as to the chief circumstances, with the other accounts of the incident. When Yuan-chuang writes of the "gold coffin descending" he means from the air into which it had soared, and not from "la litière" as Julien writes. At the time of Buddha's death Kāśyapa was at Pāvā according to some authorities,[1] but according to others he was on the Gridhrakūṭa mountain near Rājagaha or at the Dakshiṇagiri (?).[2] A supernatural light and earthquake disturbed his meditation, and by his divine sight he saw his master attain parinirvāṇa at the Twin Trees, and immediately set out with his disciples for that place. In some versions of the story Kāśyapa does not ask Ānanda's permission to have the coffin opened, the Buddha spontaneously showing his feet to him as a mark of favour. The reason why Kāśyapa wanted to see the body was that he could not tell where was head and where were feet, and he wished to prostrate himself at his dead Master's feet. Then the stains on the Buddha's feet are in some treatises ascribed to the gushing tears of a poor old woman, a lay member of the

[1] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 4; Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.
[2] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 32; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 3.

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church, One of the reproaches afterwards brought against Ananda was that he had through negligence thus allowed the dead Buddha's feet to be stained by tears.

> The pilgrim next tells of the Asoka tope which was beside the one last mentioned. This Asoka tope was at the place where the Buddha's relics were divided among the eight kings, and in front of it was a stone pillar recording the circumstances. Yuan-chuang relates that after the Buddha's cremation eight kings came, with their armies, and using the services of the brahmin *Chih-hsing* (直 性), "Honest nature," begged the Mallas of Kuśinagara to give them shares of the relics. The Mallas rudely refused, and the kings were about to wage war when Chih-hsing became mediator. Acting on his advice all agreed to have the relics distributed equally among the eight kings. Then Indra claimed a share for the gods, and the Dragon-kings also claimed a share. So the brahmin divided the relics into three lots, one for the gods, one for the Dragon-kings, and the third was sub-divided into eight shares for the kings. The gods, dragons, and kings were all deeply affected.

This account of the division of the relics differs in some respects from that generally followed. There were not eight kings at the division of the Buddha's relics as the pilgrim, following certain sūtras, seems to teach. We read in most of the books on the subject that the relics were distributed among the deputies of eight cities or countries. These, according to the Maha-Parinibbāna-sutta,[1] were the Mallas of Kusinārā, Ajātasattu rāja of Māgadha, the Licchavis of Vesāli, the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulayas of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of Veṭhadīpo, and the Mallas of Pāvā. With one or two exceptions, which are perhaps only apparent, this list agrees with the Yu-hsing-ching, the Mahāmāyā-ching, and the Pan-ni-huan-ching. The name "Allakappa" seems to be found only in the Pali text, and instead of it some of the others have *Chê-lo-p'o* (遮 羅 頗)[2] or *Chê-p'o*, or they translate the name by *Yu-hêng* (有 衡) "having scales" or a *balance*.[3] So also instead of Veṭhadīpo, that is Vaishṭra-

[1] Ch. VI. (Dīgha, Vol. II. p. 166.)

[2] Mahāmāyā-ching (last page).

[3] Pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2.

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dvīpa, we have *Shên-chu*, the "Continent of the god", viz. Vishnu, (in the Tibetan translation *Khab-hjug*); or we have the name transcribed *P'i-liu-t'i* (short for Veṭhadīpo), and we read of the Licchavis or the brahmins of *P'i-liu-t'i*. In his account Yuan-chuang seems to combine in one person the envoy from Ajātasatru and the wise politic brahmin. The latter appears in the books under various names such as Droṇa (Doṇa), Dhūpa (*Hsiang* or Incense), Dhūma (*Yen* or Smoke), and *Mao-Küe*. The name which Yuan-chuang gives him, *Chi-hsing*, meaning *fair* or *honest* may be for Droṇasama which seems to have been the form of the name before Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan authority.[1] This may have been a sobriquet given in jest, as fairness in dealing was not a weakness of this brahmin. He tried to steal one of the Buddha's canine teeth, and he smeared the inside of the vase for the relics with honey or molasses in a clandestine manner, and thereby obtained a quantity of relics to which he was not entitled. The reader will observe that, according to the version of the story followed by Yuan-chuang, the Mallas of Kuśinagara did not get any share of the cremation relics of the Buddha. This is not in agreement with other versions and we even read of a great relic tope at the place of cremation.

The pilgrim now proceeds to relate that above 200 *li* south-west from the tope of the Division of the Relics was a large town. At it was a brahmin grandee who was a learned and pious Buddhist. This man, who was very wealthy, had built near his residence a magnificent establishment for the entertainment of travelling bhikshus. By Sāśanka's extermination of Buddhism the groups of Brethren were all broken up to the great distress of the brahmin. Some time before Yuan-chuang's visit this man had entertained a strange old Buddhist monk with bushy eyebrows and white hair. This old monk sighed as he tasted the boiled milk which the brahmin gave him, and told his host that the pure milk of the time was more insipid than the water at Rājagaha in which he, when attending Buddha had cleansed his bowl and washed. He revealed himself to his host to be Rāhula, the son of the Buddha, who for the

[1] Rockhill, Life, p. 146 note.

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maintenance of the true religion had abstained from passing into final extinction, and after making this statement he suddenly disappeared.

Rāhula is represented in some of the Buddhist scriptures as occasionally serving his father, and a passage in the Tsa-a-han-ching shews him attending Buddha in the Kalanda monastery at Rājagaha.[1] This disciple, according to some authorities, was to remain alive in the world until the time for the next Buddha's advent, when he dies to be reborn as that Buddha's son, or he passes away for ever.

Cunningham and Carlleyle fancied that they found the remains of Kuśinagara at Kasia in the south-east corner of Gorakhpur.[2] But there is nothing in their statements to make us accept the identification. These archæologists make much of a "colossal" image of Buddha in nirvāṇa, but there is no mention of any colossal image in Yuan-chuang's account of the district. Kuśinagara, as men have known it, was never a large city; and it owed its celebrity to the fact that in its neighbourhood the Buddha died and was cremated. It was much against Ānanda's wish that the master came here to die: he wanted the Buddha to pass away at some great city, not at this "contemptible little town", this "small wattel and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township." In a long ago past of which only the Buddha knew, it had been, Buddha relates, a magnificent city rich and prosperous, well-governed and of great renown.[3] In Buddha's time it was a town of the Pāvā country noted chiefly as the home of the Mallas or Athletes. Very recently Mr. V. A. Smith[4] has shown conclusively that the Kasia of Cunningham and Carlleyle cannot be the Kusinārā or Kuśinagara of Buddhist

[1] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38.

[2] Arch. Sur. Ind. Vol. XVIII. Pref. and p. 55.

[3] 'Buddhist Suttas' p. 99; Rockhill, Life, p. 136; Fo-pan-ni-huan-ching *ch.* 2; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 29 (No. 113).

[4] J. R. A. S. for 1897 p. 919. The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District &c. by Vincent A. Smith.

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writers. It is possible, as has been conjectured, that with the help of the recent discoveries in the Nepalese Terai the site of this place also will be found in the Terai. In some Chinese translations Kapilavastu and Kuśinagara seem to be one place. Thus we read of the Buddha passing away at the Twin Trees to the north of the Sakya city Kapilavastu, and we find Kuśinagara described as "the Buddha's birth-place".[1]

[1] P'u-sa-ch'ü-t'ai-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 433); Chung-yin-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 463); Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 2 (last page).

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CHAPTER XIII.

CHUAN VII.

VĀRĀṆASĪ TO NEPĀL.

The narrative in the Records goes on to state that the pilgrim continued his journey from the large town which was 200 *li* south-west from Kuśinagara onward through the forest, and after travelling above 500 *li* he reached the Po-lo-na-se (Varaṇāsi or Vārāṇāsī) country (that is the city now called Benares).

The Fang-chih repeats the statement here made, but in the Life, which does not mention the large town, the distance from Kuśinagara to Varaṇāsi is given as only over 500 *li*, the direction not being given. Fa-hsien calls the country Kāśi and the capital *P'o-lo-na* (Baraṇā or Varaṇā),[1] and this distinction is observed by other writers. We also find these two names occasionally treated as convertible, but in Buddhist books Kāśi is seldom found as the designation of the city, and is generally applied to the country. Thus the fine cotton stuffs for which the Benares district was famous are called "Kāśi cloth". The sacred city is generally called Varaṇā or Vārāṇasi or Vāraṇāsi, and sometimes the district is included in this name. The latter form is the only one which Yuan-chuang seems to have known and, in his usual manner, he makes it include the city and the country.

The Vārāṇasī District is described by our pilgrim as being above 4000 *li* in circuit. The capital reached to the Ganges on

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[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 34.

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its west side, and was about eighteen *li* long by five or six *li* wide. The city-wards were close together, and the inhabitants were very numerous and had boundless wealth, their houses being full of rare valuables. The people were gentle and courteous and esteemed devotion to learning; the majority of them believed in the other systems and only a few of them were Buddhists. The climate of the district was temperate, and the harvests were abundant; fruit and other trees grew densely and there was a luxuriant vegetation. There were above thirty Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren all adherents of the Sammatiya school. Of Deva-Temples there were above 100, and there were more than 10000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Siva; some of these cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and some smeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence. Within the capital were 20 Deva-Temples, and the narrative goes on to tell how their storeyed terraces and temple-eaves were of carved stone and ornamented wood; thickets of trees gave continuous shade and there were streams of pure water; there was a *t'u-shi* (bell-metal?) image of the Deva (probably Siva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in its awe-inspiring majesty.

It is to be noticed that in this passage the pilgrim places Vāraṇāsi on the *east* instead of on the *west* side of the Ganges. The Life gives the number of the Buddhist Brethren as 2000 and represents them as being Sarvāstivādins. Then there is nothing in the Life about the twenty Deva-Temples within the city, and this passage is probably corrupt. The text of the Records used by the compiler of the Fang-chih was apparently, for this passage, different from that of any of our editions. According to it the object of worship in the Deva-Temples was the lingam, and it was this which was 100 feet high. It is perhaps possible that Yuan-chuang may have written that among the Deva-Temples in the city was one to Siva which had twenty separate shrines or sacred buildings, and that he then proceeded to describe this great temple. His description of it seems to agree in many points with that given by Mr. Sherring of the ruins of Bakarīyā Kuṇḍ in the north-west corner of Benares. But Mr. Sherring is disposed to find in these ruins the remains of an ancient

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Buddhist establishment.[1] But neither Fa-hsien nor Yuan-chuang has any mention of a grand establishment in the city corresponding to the buildings at Bakarīyā Kuṇḍ. Nor does the later Sung pilgrim know of such an establishment. This pilgrim places Vārāṇasi to the north of the Ganges, and on its bank, and he has two cities separated by five *li*.[2]

> Our pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the north-east of the capital, and on the west side of the Po-lo-na (Barna) river, was an Asoka tope above 100 feet high. In front of this was a pillar of polished green stone, clear and lustrous as a mirror in which the reflection of the Buddha was constantly visible. Continuing his description the pilgrim states that at a distance of ten *li* north-east from the Barna river was the Deer-Park Monastery. This establishment, he says, was in eight divisions all enclosed within one wall; the tiers of balconies and the rows of halls were extremely artistic; there were 1500 Buddhist Brethren in the establishment all adherents of the Sammatiya School. Within the great enclosing wall was a temple (*ching-shê*) above 200 feet high surmounted by an embossed gilt *an-mê-lo* (amra or mango) fruit: the base and steps were of stone: in the brick portion above were more than 100 rows of niches each containing a gilt image of the Buddha; inside the temple was a *t'u-chi* (bell-metal?) image of the Buddha representing him in the attitude of preaching and as large as life.

The monastery here described is the famous one in the Rishipatana Mṛigadāva, the Isipatana Migadāya of the Pali books, dating from the time of the Buddha. The Deer-Park is said in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya to have been half a yojana, and in the Fo-kuo-chi to have been ten *li*, distant from Vāraṇāsi, and in the Sung pilgrim's Itinerary it is placed above ten *li* north-west from that city. Our pilgrim's location of the Deer-Park seems to agree with a passage in the Hsing-chi-ching[3] which represents Buddha as going through the east gate of Vāraṇāsi to a place on the water (river) and thence going north

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[1] 'The Sacred City of the Hindus', *ch.* XIX.

[2] Ma T. L. *ch.* 338.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 33.

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to the Deer-Park. In Chinese translations the name of the place is commonly given as *Hsien-jen-lu-ye-yuan* (仙人鹿野苑) or the "Deer Park of the Rishi". In the Divyāvadāna we have instead of "Ṛishipatana" the form "Ṛishivadana", and this explains the Chinese translation in the A-yü-wang-ching which has *Hsien-mien* or "Rishi-face".[1] I-ching and others sometimes translate the word Rishipatana literally by "the place of the rishi's fall (仙人墮處)", and we have also the rendering "the rishi's dwelling-place".[2] According to Fa-hsien the rishi who gave the name to the place was a Pratyeka Buddha who had lodged here as a hermit. When this recluse heard that "Suddhodana's son" was about to become Buddha he "took nirvāṇa", that is, died in this wood. The other part of the name, Mṛigadāva, is said to have been derived from the jātaka, related in this passage by the pilgrim, in which the Buddha and Devadatta in former births were rival chiefs of flocks of deer in this forest. Instead of "Mṛigadāva" or "Deer-forest" we find in some books "Mṛigadāya" or "Deer-gift", and this explains the translation given by I-ching and others, *shih*(施)*-lu-ye* or *Shih-lu-lin*, the "Deer-gift Wood", the wood of charity to deer.

One of the buildings of the Deer-Park establishment, as Yuan-chuang has told us, was a Buddhist temple surmounted by an embossed gilt "amra fruit". The word *amra* (or āmra) denotes the *mango*, but we are not to take it in that sense here. It perhaps represents *āmalaka*, used by the pilgrim in the next *chuan* of the Records, the name of a common ornament of Hindu temples. The śikhara, "tower" or "spire" of the temple, to borrow Mr. W. Simpson's description, "is surmounted by a member called the *āmalaka*, which is circular in plan, and might be likened to a cushion or a compressed melon: the outer surface ribbed. A *kalasa*, or jar, surmounts this as a pinnacle".

[1] Divyāv. p. 393; A-yü-wang-ching *ch.* 2; The Divyāv. at p. 464 has *Rishivadana*. The Mahāvastu also uses both forms.

[2] Fo-shuo-san-chuan-fa-lun-ching (No. 658).

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Another name for the ornament is "amra or amra-śilā" and it is supposed by some to have been a relic casket. But this seems unlikely; and Mr. Sinclair is perhaps right in regarding it as having been merely a stand or support for the jar (kalas).[1] It has also been supposed that the āmalaka is the "Dew-dish" of our pilgrim and other translators from Indian into Chinese. But this term is apparently transferred from native use, and not translated from the Sanskrit. With the old Chinese the "Dew-dish" was a cup, on a stand, placed in the open hand of an image or statue. Han Wu Ti in B. C. 115 caused such a figure, made of copper, to be set up on the artificial mound (or Terrace) which he had constructed.[2] This Dew-dish was intended to receive the dew from heaven, and such dew was supposed to confer immortality. It is to be noticed also that the Dew-dish is an ornament for a tope; while the amra is on the roof of a temple,[3] and in the present passage the amra is not associated with any other article. The temple here described was evidently a very recent one, and the life-size image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching indicates the influence of Mahāyānism.

To the south-west of the Buddhist Temple, the pilgrim proceeds, was a ruinous old stone tope built by Asoka of which 100 feet still remained above-ground. In front of this was a stone pillar, above 70 feet high, which had the softness of jade and was of dazzling brightness. Very earnest petitioners saw in it darkly various pictures, and it often showed good and bad (that is, lucky and unlucky) indications. This pillar was at the spot at which the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, first preached his religion.

Near this monolith, the narrative tells us, was a tope to mark the place where Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya and his four companions settled in order to apply themselves to devotional meditation. These men had been practising austerities with the P'usa else-

[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 54 and at pages 68, 272, 275, 545, and Vol. XXI. p. 689 ff.

[2] T'ung-chien-kang-mu, Han Hsiao Wu Ti, Yuan-ting 2d year.

[3] See P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun *ch.* 4 (No. 1312).

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where; and when they saw him give up the practice, they left him, and came to this place. The tope beside this marked the place where 500 Pratyeka Buddhas "entered nirvāṇa" at the same time; and there were three topes at the sitting places and exercise-walks of the Three Past Buddhas.

The pilgrim next tells of a tope at the place where, he says, *Mei-ta-li-ya* (Maitreya) P'usa received from the Buddha the prophecy of his future attainment of Buddhahood. He then explains that once, when the Ju-lai was on the Vulture Peak near Rājagaha, he announced to his disciples that at a distant period there would be born in Jambudvīpa a brahmin's son named Tzŭ (Maitreya) of a bright golden colour. This man, he adds, "will take orders and become Buddha. He will then on a large scale at three assemblies preach for the good of living creatures. Those whom he will save will be the creatures who sow good seed in my system, devoted to the Buddha, the Canon, and the Church. Whether lay or clerical, whether they keep or violate the Vinaya, all will receive religious teaching, become arhats, and attain emancipation. In the three Meetings in which Maitreya will preach he will ordain the disciples of my system, and then convert those religious friends who have the same destiny". Maitreya P'usa hearing these words of the Buddha rose from his seat and addressing the Buddha said— May I become this Maitreya Bhagavat. Buddha in reply intimated to Maitreya P'usa that he would become the Buddha of the prophecy, and carry out its predictions.

There is an extraordinary inconsistency of statement in this passage about the prediction to Maitreya P'usa; for while the tope is described as being near Benares at the place where the prediction was made, the prediction is said to have been made by the Buddha when at Rājagaha. As the story is not repeated either in the Life or the Fang-chih we cannot have any assistance from those works. Now there are several treatises which tell the story of the prediction of Buddhahood to Maitreya by the Buddha; but these treatises make the prophecy to have been delivered at a mountain near Rajagaha, or at Śrāvasti, and the prediction is made to Śāriputra, or Ānanda, and the congregation of disciples in the absence of Maitreya.[1] But the "*Fo-shuo-ku-lai-shih-shih-*

[1] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ching (No. 208), prophecy at Śrāvasti; Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 207) at Rājagaha; Fo-

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ching" tells of the Buddha making the prediction while in the chapel of the Rishipatana Mṛigadāva Monastery at Benares.[1] In this version of the story the prophecy is addressed to the bhikshu Maitreya, who is one of the congregation, and accepts the prophecy and the duties it is to bring. It was evidently this version of the story that the pilgrim followed; and the mention of the Griddhra-kuṭa, near Rajagaha, as the scene of the prediction is probably only a slip.

The three great religious gatherings, here called "Three Assemblies" (or Meetings), which are to be called by Maitreya Buddha, and at which he is to preach with great effect, are popularly known in Chinese Buddhist works as the "Lung-hua-san-hui", the "Three *Lung-hua* Meetings". They are to be held under Dragon-Flower (*Lung-hua*) trees; hence their name, the Dragon-Flower (or Champac) tree being the Bodhi-tree of Maitreya Buddha. In these Meetings, according to the prediction, Maitreya Buddha is to receive into his communion in all 282 Koṭis of converts, and those of his congregations who had in previous births been good Buddhists will then attain arhatship.

> To the west of the Maitreya-Prediction Tope, Yuan-chuang continues, was a tope at the place where Sakya P'usa (that is, the P'usa) as *Hu-ming* (護明) P'usa received from Kaśyapa Buddha the prophecy of his future attainment of Buddhahood with the name Sakyamuni. Near this tope was an artificial platform of dark-blue stone, above 50 *paces* long by seven feet high, which had been a walking-place of the Four Past Buddhas. On this was a standing image of the Ju-lai, grand and majestic, with long hair from the top of the head (from the ushṇīsha), of noted and conspicuous miraculous powers.

In his translation of this passage Julien restores *Hu-ming*, "Light-protecting" as *Prabhāpāla* with the same meaning. But the Chinese rendering is probably for

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shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 209) on mountain in Magadha; Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 6 prophecy made to the disciples on the way from Rājagaha to Vaiśāli.

[1] This is the "Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-lai-shih-ching (No. 205). See also the Shih-erh-yu-ching (No. 1374).

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Jyotirpāla (Jotipāla in Pali) which was the name of the P'usa as the son of a brahmin in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha.

The Life describes the Exercise ground of the Four Past Buddhas as being 500 feet long by seven feet high, and represents it as having images of the four Buddhas.

> The pilgrim next tells of three Tanks, one to the west of the Monastery Wall, a second further west, and a third to the north of the latter. These were all regarded as sacred by the Buddhists and were jealously guarded by dragons.
>
> Near these Tanks, Yuan-chuang continues, was a tope. He adds—while Ju-lai was fulfilling the career of a Bodhisattva he became a six-tusked elephant-king; a hunter to get the elephant's tusks disguised himself in a Buddhist monk's costume, drew his bow and captured the elephant-king; the latter, out of reverence for the monk's garb, tore out his tusks, and gave them to the hunter.

In the latter paragraph of this passage, it will be noted, there is no word for "place" in the short account of the tope, but the Life and Fang-chih state expressly that the tope was at the place where the elephant gave his tusks to the hunter. In the Life also the P'usa is a "six-tusked white elephant" giving his tusks to the hunter as an act of charity. To place the scene of this famous Jātaka at Benares is against all the versions of the story with which we are acquainted, and the pilgrim does not state that the tope was at the spot where the event occurred. According to some authorities the Chaddanta (six-tusked) elephant lived on the side of the Snow Mountains (Himavant), and according to others his home was to the south 3000 *li* and within several ranges of mountains. But the Jātaka is connected with Benares because it was to procure ivory for the queen of that district that the cruel hunter shot the elephant, the self-denying indefatigable candidate for Buddhahood. A full account of this very curious Jātaka will be found in M. Feer's articles in the Journal Asiatique for 1895 which give the variations of the different versions.[1]

[1] See also Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 12; and J. P. T. S. 1901. pp. 80—84.

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Near the tope of the Tusk-extracting, the pilgrim proceeds, was another tope. This commemorated the action of the Ju-lai while fulfilling the career of a P'usa when in pity for the want of civility in the world he took the form of a bird; as such he and his friends a monkey and a white elephant asked each other which had been the first to see the banyan tree under which they were sitting. Each gave his experience and according to their statements they took precedence: the good influence of this proceeding gradually spread, men got civil order, and religious and lay people gave in their adherence.

This is a Jātaka told in the Vinaya and other treatises, the three friends being the Buddha, Maudgalyayāna, and Śāriputra in former births.[1] But the story as told in the Buddhist books has no connection whatever with Benares, and the reader will observe that again Yuan-chuang does not state that the tope was at the place where the event commemorated occurred. The story is related at Śrāvasti, or on the way thither, and the scene is laid on the side of the Himavant. According to the Jātaka the bird was a partridge and the tree a banyan, but the Ta-chih-tu-lun, calls the bird a *ka-pin-ja-lo*, and represents the three friends as living under a peepul tree.[2]

Beside this tope, in the great wood, Yuan-chuang relates, was a tope where the P'usa and Devadatta as Deer-kings settled an affair. To prevent the extermination of their two flocks of deer by the hunts of the king of the country it was arranged that an animal from each flock, on alternate days, should be given up to the king for the use of his table. When it came to be the turn of a doe big with young in Devadatta's flock the doe begged to be spared for a few days for the sake of her unborn fawn. The Devadatta Deer-chief refused to entertain her petition and the P'usa Deer-chief thereupon offered himself as substitute for the doe. This act of self-sacrifice moved the king to remorse, he released all the deer from the penalty of death, and gave them the wood as pasture land: hence arose the name, the Wood of Charity to the Deer.

The story of the P'usa as a Deer-king giving himself up as a substitute for a pregnant doe is told in one

[1] Vin. II. 160—162; Chalmers' Jātaka p. 92 and note p. 95.
[2] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 12.

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Buddhist book without any mention of another Deer-king as Devadatta in a former birth. The scene of the P'usa's act of self-sacrifice is not given in this treatise. But in another work the scene is laid in the wild country of Benares kingdom, and the king of the country is Brahmadatta. In this treatise there are two flocks of deer, one with the deer who was the P'usa as chief, and one with the Devadatta-deer as chief: the version of the Jâtaka here given agrees closely with that in our text.[1]

> The pilgrim next tells us of a tope which was two or three *li* to the south-west of the great Buddhist establishment of the Deer-Park. This tope was above 300 feet high with a broad high base which was ornamented with precious substances; the tope had no storeys of niches for images, but it was covered by a dome, and it had a spire but without the circular bells. Beside this peculiar tope, the pilgrim tells us, was one which marked the place where Âjñâtakauṇḍinya and his four companions abandoned their decision to treat the Buddha with disrespect, and received him with the reverence due to a Master.

Here we have an account of the mission of these five men, and of the Prince Siddhartha becoming Buddha and converting and ordaining them. The story is told in many books in several languages, and is well known.

> Two or three *li* east from the Mṛigadâva, the pilgrim continues, was a tope beside which was a dried-up tank called by two names, *Life-Saving* and *The Hero*.

We have then the very curious story which explains the origin of the names. It is not necessary to go over this long story of which Julien has given us a fair translation. But there is one passage in it on which we may dwell for a moment. While the Hero is keeping vigil in the temple he has a horrible nightmare in which he is killed. Thereupon, he says, he *shou-chung-yin-shên* (受中陰身) which Julien renders— "et je restai quelque temps dans ce triste état". But the meaning of the words is "in my intermediate state". *Chung-yin*, called also *chung-yu* (中

[1] Liu-tu-chi-ching *ch.* 3; Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 76. Jâtaka No. 12.

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有), in Sanskrit "Antarābhava", denotes, as the passage cited in Julien's note shows, the "intermediate existence", the state in which the spirit or self remains, between its separation from one mortal body and its union with another.[1] Then from a different point of view the *chung-yin* is the being which, acting independently of parents and without their knowledge, animates their offspring and makes its destiny. To the production of a child there come three agents, the two parents and the tertium quid or *chung-yin* which makes the individual, gives character and fortune. In the story of the dream, in our text, as soon as the Hero was killed he became an antarābhava, and then was incarnated in a brahmin lady, transferring to his new bodily life the habit of silence enjoined on him in the previous existence. This term *chung-yin* is also applied by some authorities to one who, like a Buddha, having experienced final death (parinirvāṇa), is freed from all transient existence, but lives for ever in a state of being absolute and incommunicable.

> To the west of the Hero's Tank was, the pilgrim tells us, the Tope of the Three Animals on the spot where the P'usa, as a hare, roasted himself. The mention of this tope leads the pilgrim to relate the Jātaka of the fox, the ape, and the hare providing food for Indra in the guise of a hungry old man. The hare was the P'usa, and Indra had come to observe and test his conduct. Pretending to be very hungry, the old man asked the fox and the other animals for food, and obtained from the fox a fish and from the ape some fruit, but the hare could not provide anything. When he was chidden for his inhospitality the hare caused his companions to make a fire and roasted himself on it to provide a meal for the old man. The latter resuming his proper form was greatly affected, and carrying the hare's corpse to the moon placed it there to go down to posterity. Since that event all speak of "the hare in the moon"; and men of after times erected a tope at the place of the roasting.

The abstract of the Hare Jātaka here given by our pilgrim differs in several respects from the story as found in certain other books. In the Pali version, which lays

[1] Chung-yin-ching (No. 463 tr. circ. A. D. 400).

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the scene of the occurrence at Benares in the time of good king Brahmadatta, there are four animals, a hare, an otter, a jackal, and a monkey.[1] In this treatise the story does not have the hare roasted alive; and Indra, who has tried the Bodhisattva, paints the likeness of the hare in the disk of the moon. In the "Fo-shuo-shêng-ching" it is Dīpankara Buddha who is the hermit, and there are no other animals with the Hare-king and the hares, nor is there any mention of the moon.[2] The "Liu-tu-chi-ching" also makes Dīpankara Buddha to be the brahmin who tries the P'usa as a hare, and here there are a fox, an otter and a monkey living with the hare, but there is no transfer to the moon.[3] In the "P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun" the hermit is Maitreya, the Hare-king is the P'usa, and he has only his own species about him.[4] The Hare-king prepares to roast himself for the hermit to eat him in the absence of all other food, but the hermit pulls him off the fire, too late, however, to save his life. Then praying to be born in all future lives as a disciple of the P'usa the hermit burns himself with the hare, and Indra comes to worship, and raises a tope over the relics, but does not take anything to the moon.

A legend about the hare like that here told by the pilgrim seems to have survived among the Mongols down to the present. Thus the Kalmucs, who worship the hare as a god, and call him Sakyamuni, "say that on earth he allowed himself to be eaten by a starving man, for which gracious act he was raised to domineer over the moon where they profess to see him".[5]

The reader will observe that in the pilgrim's account of the Buddhist sacred places in and about Vārāṇasi he mentions only one monastery, the Ṛishipatana-mṛigadāva-vihāra. This is in agreement with a Buddhist śāstra which

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[1] Jāt. Vol. III. p. 51; Francis and Niel's Jātaka p. 35.

[2] *ch.* 4. [3] *ch.* 3. [4] *ch.* 3.

[5] Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism' pp. 197, 198. Crooke 'Pop. Rel. and Folklore of N. India' p. 215.

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informs its readers that the Deer-Park monastery was the only Buddhist establishment at Vārāṇasi.[1] In a Vinaya treatise, however, we find mention of another vihāra, the name of which is given as *Chi-t'o-lo-ka-poh* (枳 陀 羅 颺 鉢),[2] which perhaps may be for Khidrakapa. There are also one or two other Buddhist establishments in the Kāsi country mentioned in Buddhist books, but nothing seems to be known about them.

Vārāṇasi, the capital of the Kāśi country, now „the sacred city of the Hindus", was held sacred then by all Buddhists because at it the Buddha set the wheel of religion in motion, that is, gave the first teaching in the essentials of his new system. At the spot where he delivered this first sermon to Ājñātakauṇḍinya and his four companions a tope is said to have been erected, and this is one of the Eight Great Topes of which later Buddhism tells. But to the Buddhists this city had even earlier claims on their reverence, for it was the second city to "arise" in the last renovation of the world, and it had been the scene of the ministrations of several of the Past Buddhas. The last of these Past Tathāgatas, Kāśyapa by name, had lived here in an ārāma near the Ṛishipatana Deer-Park. At this far off time the king of Kāśi was named *Ki-li-ki* (the Kikī of the Pali scriptures), and he was a lay adherent and a patron of Kāśyapa Buddha. It was at Vārāṇasi that this latter having ordained the young Jotipālo, the friend of Ghaṭikāro the potter, predicted that the disciple would in a distant future become the Buddha Sakyamuni.[3]

In the Chinese versions of Buddhist works the terms Kāśi and Vārāṇasi are generally given in transcriptions,

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[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3.

[2] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 29.

[3] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 12, here the name Jotipāla does not occur; Majjhima 2. 45—54, Kikī and Jotipāla in intercourse with Kassapa Buddha; Jāt. Vol. I. Int. p. 43, here there is the prediction to Jotipāla.

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but the former term is sometimes translated by *Ti-miao* (荻 苗). This means "reed-sprouts", and its use by I-ching is explained when we find him transcribing the name of the country by *Ka-shi-lo* that is, *kaseru*, a word which denotes a kind of *reed* or *grass.*[1] But *Ti-miao* may also have been used to translate Kāśi as supposed to be connected with Kāśa.

CHAN-CHU COUNTRY.

From the neighbourhood of Vārāṇasi Yuan-chuang proceeded, he tells us, eastward following the course of the Ganges for above 300 *li* to the *Chan-chu* (戰 主) country. This country, according to the pilgrim, was above 2000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, which was on the Ganges, was about ten *li* in circuit. The country had a dense and flourishing population, a good climate and a fertile soil; the people were honest and high-spirited and they had a mixed religious creed. There were above ten Buddhist establishments with nearly a thousand Brethren all attached to the system of the "Little Vehicle". There were twenty Deva-Temples, and the followers of the different non-Buddhist systems dwelt pell-mell.

Here the narrative as usual describes the pilgrim as going on "from this"; and we must take this expression as meaning "from the Deer-Park" which, as we have seen, was above ten *li* north-east of the Bārna river at Vārāṇasi. The term *Chan-chu* means "fighting lord" or "lord of battle", and it is evidently a translation of a Sanskrit name or epithet with a similar meaning. Cunningham has identified our *Chan-chu* country with the modern Ghāripur, the "city of the Conqueror".[2] But *chan* is used to translate *Yuddha* and *chu* stands for several words such as *pati*, *svāmin*, and *īśvara*, and the Chan-chu of our text may be the rendering of a word like Yuddhapati, which may be an epithet of Siva.

In the mention of the non-Buddhists Julien makes the pilgrim describe these as living in their temples. This is

[1] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 1 and P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 6.
[2] A. G. I. p. 438.

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due to the faulty reading of his text which adds the particle *chih* (之) after the four words *Yi-tao-tsa-chü*, "the heretics live pell-mell". To these four words, which form a very common phrase in the Records, the old texts added the particle *Yi* (矣) to serve as a full stop. This unfortunately appears in the B text as *chih*, and spoils the meaning. Our pilgrim never represents the professed adherents of the non-Buddhist systems as living in the "Deva-Temples".

In a Buddhist establishment, Yuan-chuang tells us, at the north-west of the capital was an Asoka tope, with bodily relics of the Buddha, to commemorate a spot at which the Buddha had expounded his religion for seven days to a congregation of devas and men. Near it was a place with trees of the Three Past Buddhas' sitting and exercise ground. Next to this was an image of Maitreya P'usa, small, but of great miraculous powers.

Above 200 *li* east from the capital was the *A-pi-t'ê-ka-la-na* (restored by Julien as Aviddhakarṇa) Sanghārāma ("the monastery of the Brethren with unpierced ears"). This monastery had been built for the use of Buddhist pilgrims from Tokhāra, and the pilgrim tells the story which accounted for the name. Above 100 *li* south-east from this monastery, and on the south side of the Ganges, was the town of *Mo-ha-sho-lo* (that is, Mahāśāla or Mahāsāra); in it all the inhabitants were brahmins, and there were no Buddhists. Then to the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa Temple, with halls and terraces beautifully adorned, and with sculptured stone images in the highest style of art. Thirty *li* east from this was an Asoka tope half sunk in the ground, and in front of it was a stone pillar surmounted by a lion. An inscription on the pillar told how the Buddha here subdued and converted certain cannibal demons of the wilderness. Not far from this place were several Buddhist monasteries which were all in a bad condition, but still contained a number of Brethren, all Mahāyānists.

Going on south-east above 100 *li* you come to the ruins of a tope of which some scores of feet remained above-ground. When after the Buddha's decease his relics were being divided among the eight kings, the brahmin who measured the relics smeared the inside of the jar with honey, and then distributed to the kings. The brahmin returning to his home took the jar with him; over the relics which had adhered to the sides he built a tope; and because the jar also was deposited in the tope, the

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latter got its name from the circumstance. Afterwards king Asoka took away the relics and jar, and replaced the old tope by a large one; on fast days there may be a bright light from the tope.

The Aviddha-karṇa (or Unpierced-ear) Monastery of this passage is placed by the Fang-chih to the north-east of the capital, and not to the east as in our text. Our pilgrim's town Mahāśāla (or Mahāsāra) has been supposed to correspond to the present Masār about six miles west of Shahabad in Bengal.

For "demons of the wilderness" in this passage the Chinese is *Kuang-ye-kuei* (曠 or 壙 野 鬼) which we should perhaps render "Kuang-ye Demons". This term *kuang-ye* denotes the wild unoccupied land beyond the boundaries of a city or town. But it is also used in Buddhist books to translate the Indian word Āḷavi or Āṭavi as the name of a town or village. In the Buddha's lifetime this town was plagued by a cannibal demon, also called Āṭavi, who killed and ate a human being every day. Buddha tried to convert Āṭavi by gentle means, but failing in this he proceeded to bring the demon to submission by fear. Having succeeded in this Buddha then imparted to the demon the saving truths of Buddhism, and the demon was converted and became a good Buddhist.[1] This is perhaps the story of which the pilgrim had heard, but his story represents several cannibal demons as being at the place, although his words at the beginning of the paragraph seem to refer only to the "reduction of a demon to submission (伏 鬼)". This town of Āṭavi had a monastery in the time of the Buddha, and this is perhaps the Kuang-ye monastery of Fa-hsien, which was about twelve yojanas to the east of Benares.[2]

In the last paragraph of this passage the word *jar* is for the Chinese *p'ing* (并瓦). As *p'ing* is the recognised

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[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 15 (No. 114).

[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 34; The monastery is mentioned e. g. in Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 19, 31, 33. See also Sutta Nipāta 1. 10.

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rendering for the Indian word *kumbha* our pilgrim's statement here would lead us to suppose that the tope of which he is telling was called "Kumbha-stūpa". This suits the account of the division of the relics at the end of the Mahāparinibbānasutta, and in other Pali texts we find Droṇa's tope called kumbha-thūpa or kumbha-cetiya.[1] Julien in his translation of the present passage proposes Droṇa-stūpa as the name of the tope, but Yuan-chuang always, I think, renders droṇa by *hu* (斛). Moreover all the eight topes over the Buddha's bodily relics were called *droṇa-stūpas* because each contained a droṇa of relics. Thus in the Divyāvadāna the tope over king Ajātasattru's share of the Buddha's relics is called a droṇa (not Droṇa)-stūpa. There were eight of these droṇa-stūpas; seven in India and one in Rāmagāma, and Asoka wanted to take the relics away from all of them.[2] The wily brahmin who distributed the relics of the Buddha's cremated body among the angry claimants is in some accounts a Kuśinagara man, and apparently sets up his tope at that city.[4] The Tibetan translation makes him a native of the town which bears his own name, and he builds his tope at that town.[4] In a Vinaya treatise he is a native of a town called *T'ou-na-lo* (頭那羅), and it is to this place that he carries the jar, with the purloined relics, and here he builds his tope.[5] It is possible that the *T'ou-na-lo* of this treatise is a copyist's error for *T'ou-lo-na*, that is, Droṇa.

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[1] e. g. in Buddhavaṃsa p. 68 (P. T. S.).

[2] Divyāv. p. 380. Bur. Int. p. 372. Rhys Davids in J. R. A. S. 1901 p. 401.

[3] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching (last page).

[4] Rockhill, Life, p. 146 and note.

[5] Shih-sung-lü *ch.* 60; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching-hou-fên *ch.* 2. The account of the distribution of the Relics in the latter passage is a verbatim copy of that in the Shih-sung-lü.

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VAIŚĀLI.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that "from this" he went north-east, crossing the Ganges, and after a journey of 140 or 150 *li* he reached the *Fei-shê-li* (Vaiśāli) country.

By the words "from this" here the context requires us to understand "from the Kumbha Tope", but the Life makes the pilgrim proceed from the *Chan-chu* country north-east 150 *li* to Vaiśāli. Cunningham, who identifies the city of Vaiśāli (or Vesāli) with the modern Besārh, regards the *Ganges* of this passage as a mistake for *Gandak*. But the pilgrim evidently places the Kumbha Tope to the south of the Ganges, and the text may be regarded as correct.

The Vaiśāli country is described by the pilgrim as being above 5000 *li* in circuit, a very fertile region abounding in mangos, plantains and other fruits. The people were honest, fond of good works, esteemers of learning, and orthodox and heterodox in faith. The Buddhist establishments, of which there were some hundreds, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted, and the Brethren were very few. There were some tens of Deva-Temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambaras flourished. The foundations of the old city Vaiśāli were 60 or 70 *li* in circuit, and the "Palace-city" (that is, the walled part of the city) was four or five *li* in circuit, and it had few inhabitants. About five *li* to the north-west of the "palace city" was a Buddhist monastery, the few professed Buddhists in which were of the Sammatiya School, and at the side of the monastery was a tope. It was here that the Buddha delivered the "*Pi-mo-lo-ki-ching* (毗摩羅詰經), and that the householder's son *Pao-chi* and others presented sun-shades to the Buddha.

The treatise here mentioned is that called by Mr. Bunyio Nanjio "Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa-sūtra", "the sūtra of Vimalakīrtti's exposition", which corresponds to the meaning of the full Chinese title as given by Kumārajīva. But the proper title is probably "Ārya-Vimalakīrtinirdeśa", without the word *sūtra*. The work cannot be said to have been *uttered* by the Buddha, but it is rather a collection of the utterances or teachings of Vimalakīrti. According to the treatise Buddha is in the Mango Orchard at Vesāli, and Vimalakīrti is in his own house, supposed to be ill

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and confined to his bed, while the expositions are given. There are extant three translations of the work into Chinese, the first by a monk of the Yue-ti country in the middle of the third century A. D.,[1] the second by Kumārajīva,[2] and the third by our pilgrim.[3] A learned Chinese monk, who was a disciple of Kumārajīva, edited his master's translation and enriched it with a commentary.[4] There are also several other editions of Kumārajīva's version with commentaries, and it has long been a favourite work with Chinese students Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The incidents in this so-called sūtra are purely fictitious, and it must have been composed long after the death of the Buddha. It is, however, an interesting well-composed and ingenious exposition and discussion of the distinctive metaphysical tenets of the expansive developed Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna or "Great Vehicle" system.

The last clause of our text here mentions the offering of sun-shades. It is in the introduction which forms the first chapter of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra that the story is told of the 500 young Licchavis, including Pao-chi, offering their sun-shades to the Buddha in the Āmra orchard. The presentation of these gifts was immediately followed by a great miracle wrought by the Buddha which astonished and ravished all beholders. Julien suggests Ratnākara as the Sanskrit original for *Pao-chi* (寶積) or "Gem-heap", and the restoration is probably correct. The first translation, which transcribes the name as *Lo-li-na-ka*, perhaps for Ratnākara, translates it by *Pao-shih* (寶事) or "Gem-business", and Yuan-chuang in his version has *Pao-hsing* (寶性) or "Gem-nature" perhaps for Ratnākāra. In using Pao-chi in the text here the pilgrim adopts Kumārajīva's rendering, which remains the popular one.

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[1] Wei-mo-k'ie-ching (Bun. No. 147).

[2] Wei-mo-k'ie-so-shuo-ching (No. 146).

[3] Shuo-wu-kou-ch'êng-ching (No. 149).

[4] Wei-mo-k'ie-so-shuo-ching-chu (No. 1632). The sūtras Nos. 144, 145, 181 in Nanjio's Catalogue have the same Sanskrit title as the Wei-mo-k'ie-ching, but they are different works.

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Further in his version of the sūtra Yuan-chuang calls this Pao-chi a *p'usa*, while in the text of our passage he follows other translators in styling him "son of a householder".

To the east of this monastery, Yuan-chuang relates, was a tope to commemorate the attainment of arhatship at the place by "Śāriputra and others".

The word here rendered by "and others" is *têng* (等), and the pilgrim probably meant it to include only Maudgalyayāna. But the Buddhist scriptures generally represent Śāriputra as attaining arhatship at Rājagaha, and this seems to be the account followed by Yuan-chuang in *Chuan* 9 of these Records.

To the south-east of this tope, the pilgrim continues, was one erected by the king of this country over the portion of the bodily relics of the Buddha which the king had obtained at the division made on the scene of the cremation. This king's share, Yuan-chuang says, was a bushel (*hu* or droṇa) of relics, and he had deposited these in a tope to be kept as objects of worship; afterwards Asoka came and carried off nine-tenths of the precious relics.

In this passage, as in a previous one, the pilgrim forgets that there was no king of Vaiśāli in the time of the Buddha, the city and district being governed by a council of Elders. It was the Licchavis of Vaiśāli who, as Kshatriyas, claimed from the Mallas of Kusinagara a share of the relics of the Buddha who also had been a Kshatriya. Some of the Scriptures, we know, represent eight kings, and among them the king of this country, coming to ask for and extort shares of the Buddha's relics.

The pilgrim next tells us about the Monkey Tank, which was to the south of a stone pillar about 50 feet high surmounted by a lion, at an Asoka tope, to the north-west of the Relic Tope. He says the Tank (or Pond) had been made by monkeys for the Buddha, and that the latter resided at this place. Near the west side of the Tank, he continues, was a tope on the spot at which the monkeys took the Buddha's bowl up a tree for honey to give him; near the south bank was a tope at the place where the monkeys presented the honey; and near the north-east corner of the Tank was a picture (or image) of a monkey.

These statements about the monkeys and the honey recall the story related by our pilgrim in connection with

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his description of Mathura. The phrase "Monkey Tank" is a translation of the Sanskrit term *Markaṭa Hradā*. We are also told, however, that Markaṭa was the name of a man, a Vrijjian or Vajji-putta. It is remarkable that the equivalent of "Monkey Tank" does not seem to occur in the Pali Nikāyas, or in any other Pali text so far as I know. These scriptures generally represent the Buddha when at Vesali as staying in the Kūṭāgāraśālā (or "Two-storey Hall") in the Mahāvana (or "Great Wood"). Yet the Monkey Tank occurs frequently in the Chinese translations of the sūtras and other scriptures. Thus it is found in several passages of the Chung-a-han-ching and the Tsa-a-han-ching. In the latter treatise we have the story of the monkey picking out the Buddha's alms-bowl, taking it away, and bringing it back full of honey. This takes place in the Great Wood near Vesāli; but immediately afterwards we read of the Buddha staying in the Two-storey Hall at the Monkey Tank near the city. The Tibetan text translated by Mr. Rockhill also tells of the Buddha and Ānanda going "to Vesāli and there they abode in the mansion built on the edge of the monkey pond."[1] The Divyāvadāna also mentions the Markaṭahrada and its Kūṭāgāraśālā in which the Buddha lodged.[2] So also in the Sanskrit texts of other avadānas and of the Mahāvastu[3] we find mention of this great Hall by the side of the Monkey Tank at Vesāli as a place of sojourn for the Buddha. It is to be noted, however, that Fa-hsien, who gives the Great Wood and its Two-storey monastery in his list of the sights of Vesali, has nothing about the Monkey Tank or the Two-storey Hall at its side.

> Our pilgrim goes on to tell us that three or four *li* to the north-east of the Buddhist establishment mentioned above were the ruins of Vimalakīrti's house, which were marked by a tope, and were the scene of marvellous phenomena. Near this site, he tells us, was a "spirit's abode (or god's-house, *shên-shê* 神舍)

[1] 'Life of the Buddha', p. 131.

[2] p. 136.

[3] Mahāvastu Vol. 1. p. 300.

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which seemed to be a pile of bricks, but according to tradition was "amassed stones". This was said to mark the place at which Vimalakīrti "displaying sickness preached". Near this *shên-shê* was a tope at the place where the Elder's son Ratnākara lived; near this a tope marked the site of the āmra (mango)-lady's house; here the Buddha's foster mother (Mahā Prajāpatī) and other bhikshuṇīs realized entrance into nirvāna.

Our pilgrim here, as before, transcribes the name of the Vaiśāli householder by *P'i-mo-lo-kih* which is perhaps for a form like Vimalakit or Vimalakitti. He styles the individual so named a *Chang-chê*, (Gahapati or "Householder"), and he translates the name by *Wu-kou-ch'êng* (無垢稱) that is, "Stainless Reputation". In some of the sūtras, however, Vimalakīrti is called a *Ta-li-shih* (大力士) or "Great Malla", while in other books he is often styled a P'usa, and he is also represented as being from another world. He is always, however, a fictitious personage, a character created for the religious teachings attributed to him, or connected with him and his imaginary family. We may, accordingly, be certain that the site pointed out to our pilgrim as that of Vimalakīrti's house was a late invention. This house also is not in Fa-hsien's enumeration of Buddhistic objects of interest in and near Vesāli.

As to Vimalakīrti "displaying sickness" and preaching, the pilgrim is here referring to the sūtra which he had mentioned by name. In it we find that Vimalakīrti has recourse to the device of sickness in order to attract the Buddha's attention to him, and the discourses of the book are linked on in an ingenious manner to this feigning of illness. When Buddha proposes to one after another of his arhats and P'usas to go to Vimalakīrti's house and enquire about his state of health, each one of them declines and gives his reasons; these embody praises of the very wise and clever dialectician who was the patient. Afterwards Buddha himself converses with the "Elder", and draws from him further "incomprehensible expositions".

As Ratnākara, like Vimalakīrti, was a fictitious person created for the action of the sūtra, the site of his house also was an invention. The "Mango lady" of Yuan-chuang's

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account of Vaiśāli is evidently the Āmrapāli (in Pali, Ambapāli) of other writers. This woman had led an immoral life, and had become rich and famous, when she came under the influence of the Buddha, who converted her and made her a lay member of his church.

We may here notice that Yuan-chuang places the houses of Vimalakīrti, Ratnākara, and Āmrapāli outside the city, while the canonical works represent them as being inside the city. But this discrepancy may be due to the pilprim's taking a narrow technical view of what constituted the city.

> Then three or four *li* to the north of the Monastery already mentioned was a tope on the spot where, as the Julai was about to proceed to Kuśinagara to attain parinirvāṇa, the human and other creatures who escorted him stood waiting.

The Chinese for "the human and other creatures" of this sentence is *jen-fei-jen*, literally "men and non-men". Julien translates *fei-jen* by "Kinnaras" quoting as usual a Chinese dictionary as his authority. But the term is here evidently used in a comprehensive sense to include the Yakshas, Devas, and other superhuman creatures who formed the Buddha's invisible escort. The whole expression *jen-fei-jen* is probably to be understood here, as in some other passages, as meaning "[superhuman] beings in human and other forms". In the Life we have simply "Devas and men".

> A little to the north-west of the tope last mentioned, the pilgrim adds, was one at the place where the Buddha stood to contemplate the city of Vaiśāli for the last time.

According to Fa-hsien and some of the Buddhist scriptures the Buddha left Vesāli by the west gate on his way to Kuśinagara for the last time, and as he passed by the city-wall he turned and took a last view of the city. As his course lay north-westwards from the city this statement is not at variance with our pilgrim's account. The Sarvata Vinaya also represents the Buddha as taking his last look at Vesāli from a spot not far to the north-west of

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the city. But the "Sutra of the Great Decease" makes the Buddha take his last view of Vesāli after going through the city on his morning circuit for the purpose of begging his food.[1]

> Continuing his description the pilgrim tells us that a little to the south of the Tope of the Last Look was a Buddhist temple (*ching-shê*) with a tope in front, this was the Āmra lady's garden which she gave as an offering to the Buddha. At the side of the Āmra-garden was a tope on the spot where Ju-lai announced his approaching nirvāṇa (decease). Yuan-chuang hereupon relates the well known story of Ānanda being stupified by Māra and so failing to request the Buddha to remain in the world, and of Māra obtaining from Buddha a statement that he would pass away at the end of three months.

The original here translated by "garden" is *yuan* (園), a word which means a *garden* or *orchard,* but it is also used to translate the Indian word ārāma in the sense of a Buddhist monastery. In Pali scriptures we find the gift which Ambapāli presents to the Buddha called a *vana* and *ārāma.* Thus the Vinaya represents the lady as giving "this Ambapālivana" to Buddha who accepts the "ārāma"; and in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the lady gives and the Buddha accepts the *ārāma.* The accounts generally seem to agree in placing the Āmra Garden (or Āmrapālī's Orchard) to the south of Vesāli, and at a distance of three or four *li* from the city according to Fa-hsien, or seven *li* according to a Nirvāṇa sūtra. But here our pilgrim seems to locate the Āmra-yuan at some distance north-west from the city. It is perhaps possible that he uses the word *yuan* here in its sense of Buddhist establishment or monastery. But it is better to take the words of the text as meaning that the tope was at the spot where Āmrapālī performed the ceremony of making a formal gift of the orchard to the Buddha and his Brethren. This is the sense in which the compilers of the Life and the Fang-chih understood the passage. But

[1] Fo-kuo-chi *ch* 25; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta *ch.* 4. (Dīgha. 2. 122.)

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then the authorities are not agreed as to the place at which the ceremony was performed, some making it the lady's residence and others the orchard itself.

The story of Ānanda being stupified by Māra and of the latter obtaining from the Buddha a declaration of his intention to die at the end of three months is told in the Maha-parinibbāna-sutta and other works.

> Near the Tope of the "Announcement of the time of nirvāṇa", Yuan-chuang tells us, was the tope of the 1000 sons recognizing their parents. He then proceeds to relate the silly legend connected with the name of this tope.

The name was probably Bahuputraka (or Bahuputra)-chaitya, in Chinese *To-tzŭ-t'a*, "the Tope (or Chaitya) of Many Sons." There was a celebrated tope with this name on the west side of Vesāli.[1] In the Divyāvadāna[2] we read of the "Bahupattraka ("much foliage") chaitya at Vesāli, and this is probably the Bahuputra chaitya of other books, and the tope of our text. This tope may also be the "Laying down arms tope" of Fa-hsien who makes the 1000 sons give in their submission at a place three *li* to the north-west of the city. The Bahuputra chaitya was devoted to the Buddhists, but it was also held sacred by the non-Buddhists of Vesali, and there was a temple with this name near the city of Rājagaha.

> The pilgrim next tells us that not far from the place where the 1000 sons returned (gave in submission) to their kindred was a tope. Here Ju-lai walking up and down the old traces indicated the place to his disciples saying— Here I long ago returned to my kindred and recognized my parents — if you want to know who the 1000 sons were, they are the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadra kalpa.

In this passage the Chinese for "old traces" is *chiu-ch'ih* (昔迹), the reading in the A, C, and D texts. Instead of *chiu* the B text has *yi* (遺) and *yi-chih* means "traces left". The latter, which is evidently wrong, was apparently

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[1] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 11.

[2] p. 208.

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the reading in the texts of the translators, but Julien's rendering omits the two characters. He represents the pilgrim as telling his readers that the tope was at a place where the Buddha took exercise; but, as the context shows, the pilgrim describes the tope as being on a spot which the Buddha tells his congregation was the scene of one of his Jātakas, viz his birth as one of the 1000 sons who were brothers born in an extraordinary manner.

> To the east of the Tope of the Jātaka narrative, the pilgrim continues, was a wonder-working tope on the old foundations of the "two-storey Preaching Hall in which Ju-lai delivered the *P'u-mên-t'o-lo-ni* and other sūtras".

Julien restored the Sanskrit original for the title of the sūtra here mentioned as "Samantamoukha-dhāraṇi-soutra", and this is probably correct. Beal says that the work with this name is a section of the "Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra". But this is not correct as the latter treatise has not any section with the above title, and the dhāraṇi communicated in that sūtra are from a P'usa in the congregation at Rājagaha.

> Close to the remains of the Preaching Hall, the pilgrim continues, was the tope which contained the half-body relics of Ananda. Near this were several hundreds of topes at the place where 1000 Pratyeka Buddhas attained parinirvāṇa. The pilgrim tells us also that in the district were topes and other objects of interest to Buddhists too numerous to be mentioned in detail. A journey of 50 or 60 *li* to the north-west of the city brought one to a great tope. This was at the spot where the Buddha prevented the Licchavi-sons from following him on his last journey to Kuśinagara by creating a river with steep banks and rapid turbulent current. The Licchavis were stopped, and the Buddha in pity for their distress gave them his alms-bowl as a memento.

Fa-hsien, who does not mention the topes to the 1000 Pratyeka Buddhas, tells us of two topes to Pratyeka Buddhas, and these Buddhas were the natural and foster fathers of the 1000 sons.

Our pilgrim's account of the Buddha's stopping the Licchavis from following him to Kuśinagara agrees to some

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extent with the story in the "Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching".[1] Fa-hsien places the river (or as he calls it, deep trench) which the Buddha created, five (in the Korean text ten) yojanas to the west of Vesāli, a much greater distance than the 50 or 60 *li* of our passage. The Nirvāṇa treatise makes the river to have been produced between Vesāli and the *Kan-t'u* (or *ch'a* or *chih*) village, the Bhaṇḍagāma of the Pali Suttanta.

> Nearly 200 *li* to the north-west of the city Vesāli was an old city which had long been a waste with very few inhabitants. In it was a tope where the Buddha had related to a great congregation of P'usas, Devas, and men his former existence here as a universal sovereign by name Mahādeva who had given up his kingdom to become a bhikshu.

This particular Jātaka is the Makhādeva Jātaka of the Pali collection. It is not in the Chinese translations of jātaka books. But there are very similar stories of the P'usa as a chakravarti rāja. Thus in one treatise the Buddha relates the jātaka in which he was such a king with the name *Nam*, and gave up his kingdom, and became a bhikshu.[2] Here the name of the king is different and the situation of his imaginary capital is not given.

> The pilgrim next tells us that 14 or 15 *li* to the south-east of Vesali city was a great tope. This, he adds, was at the *place where the 700 eminent sages made the second compilation* (viz. of the Dharma and Vinaya).

For the words in italics here the original is *shih-ch'i-pai-hsien-shêng-chung-chie-chi-ch'ü* (是七百賢聖重結集處), and Julien translates this by— "Ce fut en cet endroit que sept cents sages s'associèrent et se réunirent." This rendering, it will be seen, leaves out the important word *chung*, (meaning *again*, *for a second time*) and gives a wrong meaning to the phrase *chie-chi*. This means to *bind and collect* and so to *bring together in order* or *compile*. Thus in an account of the proceedings of this Council

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[1] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 1 (No. 118).

[2] Liu-tu-chi-ching *ch.* 8. Nimi Jātaka, No. 541.

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Yasada is represented as saying to the Brethren— "Who is to compile the Vinaya pitaka?" the expression used being *shui-ying-chie-chi-lü-tsang* (誰應結集律藏). So Fa-hsien represents this Council of 700 Brethren, composed of arhats and orthodox ordinary bhikshus, as making a second recension of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

Our pilgrim here makes the Council of 700 to have met at a place some distance to the south-east of Vesali. But Fa-hsien describes the tope of the Council as being three or four *li* to the east of the Thousand-sons-submission Tope which he places to the north-west of the city. The name of the place or establishment in which the Council was held is given in the Mahāsanghika Vinaya as the *Sha-tui* (沙堆) Sanghārāma or Sand-heap Monastery.[1] In other Chinese versions of editions of the Vinaya the place is called the *P'o-li-ka yuan*, or the *P'o-li-yuan*, or *P'o-li-lin*.[2] The words *P'o-li* and *P'o-li-ka* in these names represent the Vālikā of the Pali scriptures, and this word (the Sanskrit Bāluka) means *sand*.[3] This Vālikārāma or *Sha-tui* monastery was a quiet retired place, cool and pleasant, and adapted for peaceful meditation and serious conversation.

The pilgrim goes on to explain that 110 years after the Buddha's decease there were bhikshus at Vesāli who went far from his dharma, and erred as to the Vinaya. He then goes on to give the names of five of the great arhats who took a leading part in the Council. These arhats were *Ya-shê-t'o* (Yasoda) of Kosala, *San-p'u-ka* (Sambhoga) of Mathura, *Li-p'o-to* (Revata) of Han-no (supposed to be Kanauj),[4] *Sha-la* of Vesāli, and *Fu-she-su-mi-lo* (Pujasumeru?) of *Sha-lo-li-fu* (that is by mistake of *sha* 娑 for *p'o* 婆, Pāṭaliput). The pilgrim describes these men as great arhats, whose minds had attained independence, who held the Three Piṭakas, who had obtained the three-

[1] *ch.* 33.

[2] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 54 (No. 1117).

[3] Vinaya Vol. III. p. 294; Mah. Ch. IV. (the Hall is Vālukārāma).

[4] But there does not seem to be any authority for this, and the name of the country is also transcribed Sa-han-no (薩寒若).

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fold understanding, men of great reputation, known to all who have knowledge, and all of them disciples of Ānanda.

In this passage the original for "whose minds had attained independence" is *hsin-tê-tzŭ-tsai* (心得自在). These words are the phrase used by Kumārajiva and others to translate the Sanskrit word *vaśībhūta*, in the sense of "having attained mastery", "having become lord", in Burnouf's rendering "parvenus à la puissance". The term is one of the constant epithets of arhats, and denotes that their minds are emancipated from the control of external powers. For "had obtained the three-fold understanding" the text is *tê-san-ming* (得三明). The three constituents of this knowledge or understanding are given as the apprehension (1) of impermanence, (2) of pain, and (3) of unreality. But according to another account the *san-ming* are the knowledge of previous existences, of others' thoughts, and of moral perfection, and there are further variations in the enumeration of the "Three Understandings". For the words "known to all who have knowledge" the Chinese is *chung-so-chih-chih* (衆所知識) or "recognised by those who know". Julien's rendering is "connus de tout le monde" which agrees with some of the explanations. The Chinese words represent the Sanskrit term *abhijñātābhijñātā* which means "known to the known". The term is of frequent occurrence in the Buddhist scriptures and the Chinese rendering of it varies a little. Thus we have "known to the wise", and "acquaintances of all who are looked up to", and Yuan-chuang's own rendering "known to those who are looked up to (衆望所識)": and the term is also rendered by "recognized by the recognized" (or "known to the known").

The arhat Yasada of this passage is the Yasada (or Yasa or Yasano) of the Vinaya treatises, called also Kākaṇḍaka- (or Kāḍa-)putra. It was his action which started the agitation against the Vrijji-putra bhikshus of Vesāli and led to the meeting of the Council. The Sambhoga of our text is the Sambhūta of the Vinaya treatises, in which this arhat is styled also Sāṇavāsi and has his resi-

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dence at the mountain "beyond the Ganges" (Ahogaṅga). Revata according to the Pali Vinaya was lodging in Soreyya, but according to other Vinayas he was in Kosambi; he took a very prominent and important part in the proceedings of the Council. Our author's *Sha-lo* is apparently the Sāḷha of Vaiśāli who represented the orthodox Brethren of the district. The *Fu-she-su-mi-lu* of the text is evidently the *Pu-she-su-mo* of the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya and the *Ku-she-su-p'i-to* of the Shan-hsien-lü. This last is undoubtedly the Khujjasobhito of the Pali Vinaya, and the *Chü-an* (曲安) or "Bent Peace" of I ching's translation of the Sarvata Vinaya. It may seem that the pilgrim's information about this great Council was not derived from any of the recognized authorities and his omissions are interesting. Thus he does not mention the venerable arhat of Vesāli named Sabbakāma (or Sabbakāmi). This man, who had seen Ānanda, was the senior Brother of India and, according to the Pali Vinaya, he became President of the Council. In the Chinese versions his name is generally translated by *Yi-ch'ie-ch'ü* (一切去) or, "All-going", as if for a Sanskrit form like Sarvagama. But in the Shan-hsien-lü the Pali name is given transcribed as *Sa-p'o-ka-mei.* Then our pilgrim does not make mention of Sumana and Vāsabhagāmika, disciples of Aniruddha, who were on the jury of the Council, or of the learned Daśabala who, according to the Mahāsanghikas, drew up the Vinaya for the Council. [1]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that when the sages, summoned by Yaśada to meet in Vesāli city, assembled, they were one short of 700. This number was completed by the arrival of Pujasumeru who came through the air. Then Sambhoga, with his right shoulder bared and on his knees in the great Congregation, addressing the assembled Brethren prays them to be orderly,

[1] For this Council see also the Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 30 (No. 1122); Shih-sung-lü *ch.* 60 (No. 1115) (the account here given had evidently been read by our pilgrim); Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40; Shan-hsien-lü *ch.* 1; Pi-ni-mu-ching *ch.* 4 (No. 1138); Dīp. p. 139; Rockhill, Life, p. 171. 'Vinaya Texts' (S. B. E.) Vol. III pp. 386—414.

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sedate, and attentive. He proceeds—'Although years have passed since our holy spiritual sovereign in his wise discretion passed away, his oral instructions still survive—Irreverent bhikshus of Vesāli city have gone astray in Vinaya, in ten matters violating the teaching of the Buddha—Reverend Brethren, ye understand what accords with and what is opposed to this teaching: As ye have been instructed by the Bhadanta Ānanda show gratitude for Buddha's kindness, and make a second promulgation of his ordinances'. Every one of the Brethren in the Council was greatly affected. The offending bhikshus were summoned before the Council, reprimanded, and ordered to desist: the erroneous Dharma was annulled, and the teaching of Buddha was set forth clearly.

The Council of the 700, we learn from the Vinaya treatises, had to pronounce on each of the ten innovations in matters of rule and practice introduced by certain Vrijjiputra bhikshus of Vesāli. For these innovations, which are enumerated in the Vinayas, the Brethren who propounded them and adhered to them claimed that the innovations either had canonical authority or were in accordance with, and to be logically inferred from, the rules and teaching of the canonical scriptures. The Council was called to examine into these matters and give the authoritative final decision of the Church on them, and to promulgate the standard Dharma and Vinaya (or Vinaya only). It was a very representative assembly, being composed of members from various districts and important centres of Buddhism in India. Some of the members apparently brought one, and some had more than one copy, of the Vinaya, while others had retained in memory the teachings of the first apostles. The ten erroneous tenets and the practices based on them were openly announced in succession, and separately condemned by vote as against the Vinaya, the circumstances in which the rule against each point was made being quoted from the sūtras or Vinaya. Then the Vinaya was reduced to order and finally settled: it was drawn up in a five-fold division, its contents being largely drawn from the sūtras. Very little is told in any treatise about the effect of the Council's action on the sinning Brethren, but we are left to infer

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that they submitted to authority and returned to orthodox practices. There is nothing whatever to indicate that they seceded and formed a great sect or school.

With the mention of the Tope of the Second Council our pilgrim brings to an end his account of the city Vaiśāli and its suburbs. The place, as has been stated, has been identified by Cunningham with the site of the modern village of Besārh to the east of the river Gandak,[1] but we need not accept the identification. From the Buddhist scriptures we do not get much light or guiding as to the precise situation of Vaiśāli. We are told that it was not far from the south side of the Snow Mountains, and that to its north were seven "black mountains" (that is, mountains on which the snow melted), and to the north of these was the Gandhamādana, the home of Kinnaras.[2] From other authorities we learn that the city was in the Vrijji territory not far from Pāvā,[3] or that it was in Kosala.[4] The Mahāvana or Great Forest, so often mentioned in connection with Vaiśāli, was so called on account of its great extent: it reached to Kapilavastu and thence to the Snow Mountains, was a virgin forest, and was without inhabitants. The word Vaiśāli is explained as meaning "spacious" or "magnificent", and Licchavi (or Lecchavi) is said to mean "skin-thin" or "same-skin", the name being treated as a derivative of cchavi (chchhavi) which means "skin".[5]

It must have been distressing for our pilgrim to go over the waste jungle-covered ruins of a district which he had known from the Buddhist scriptures to have been once very flourishing, full of life and beauty, loved and admired by the Buddha while he was on earth. In the

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[1] A. G. of India p. 443.

[2] Ch'i-shih-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 550).

[3] Lien-hua-mien-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 465).

[4] Pi-nai-ye *ch.* 1. This is the "Chie-yin-yuan-ching" No. 1130 of Mr. Nanjio's Catalogue.

[5] Shan-hsien-lü *ch.* 8.

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"Tsa-a-han-ching" a great Nirgrantha teacher speaks in glowing terms of the district to the Buddha,[1] and in the "Sūtra of the Great Decease" and other treatises Buddha is reported as praising it in similar terms. "How charming", he says, "is Vaiśāli the home of the Vrijjians", and then proceeds to specify a few of its hallowed places. Its chaityas and temples were numerous, and some of them are often mentioned in the sacred books. There was the Chāpāla Chaitya, a favourite resort of the Buddha, given to him and his church by the Licchavis. In Chinese the name is sometimes rendered by *Chü-kung* or "Bow-taking", *chāpa* meaning a *bow*. This chaitya, which was at some distance from the city, was probably only a sacred spot, with trees, originally devoted to the worship of a local divinity.[2] There were also the Chaitya of the Seven Mango trees at which Purana-Kāśyapa lodged, the Gotamaka or Gautama Nyagrodha Chaitya, the Chaitya of the Many Sons, the Sārandada and the Udena Chaityas, and the Kapinahya Chaitya given to the Buddha and his Church.[3] In or near Vaiśāli moreover, were at least three large Buddhist monasteries, one of them being the Swan-shaped Kūṭāgārasāla near the Monkey Tank in the Great Forest which has been already noticed. The city had in the Buddha's time at least one nunnery, the one in which the nun Bhadrā resided.[4] Then there were the *Su* River[5] in which the monks and nuns once bathed with childish enjoyment, the Mango Orchard of Jīvaka-kumāra which was a favourite resort of the Buddha, and the beautiful Park of the Licchavis.[6] To these along with other pleasant

[1] *Ch.* 5.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36 (But the "Bow-taking chaitya" of this passage is apparently the same with the "Chaitya of the Laying down of Bows and spears"); Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 5.

[3] Tsa-a-han-ching l. c.; 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 58; Divyāv. p. 201; Ang. Nik. Vol. I. p. 276 (the Gotamaka Cetiya), Vol. III. p. 167 (Sārandada); Rockhill, 'Life of the Buddha', p. 132; Mahāvastu l. c.

[4] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 37.

[5] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 38 (the word *Su* 蘇 here may be a translation).

[6] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 5 et al.; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 1.

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scenes have to be added Āmrapālī's Mango Orchard and the Bālikācchavi given to the Buddha and the church by Bālikā. But the attractions of the Vaiśāli city and district had a serious set-off in the famines and pestilences to which they were subject.

In the Buddha's time the young Licchavis of the city were a free, wild, set, very handsome and full of life, and Buddha compared them to the gods in Indra's Heaven. They dressed well, were good archers, and drove fast carriages, but they were wanton, insolent, and utterly irreligious. These dashing young fellows, with their gay attire and brilliant equipages and saucy manners, must have presented in Vaiśāli a marked contrast to the great Teacher and his reverend sombre-clothed disciples. The young Licchavis drove along the streets and roads in carriages with trappings of blue, yellow, red, or white, and they were dressed or adorned in colours to match.[1] On the other hand the Brethren were to be seen any morning grave and self-collected, bare-headed and bare-foot, in dark patchwork robes, their alms-bowls in their hands, begging their day's food through the streets. Or they might be met walking solemnly to the bathing-tank, or going to attend a discourse from the Teacher, or to meditate under a shady tree in a cool quiet retreat.

ŚVETAPURA MONASTERY.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that from the Tope of the Council of Seven Hundred he proceeded south, and after a journey of 80 or 90 *li*, came to the Monastery of *Shih-fei-to-pu-lo* (Śvetapur). This monastery is described by the pilgrim as having sunny terraces and bright-coloured halls of two storeys. The Brethren in it were strict in their lives and they were Mahāyānists.

Julien suggests Śvetapura ("White city") as the Sanskrit

[1] See e. g. Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 40; Sar. Yin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Mahāparinibbāna-sutta ('Buddhist Suttas', p. 31); Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 15; Fo-shuo p'u-yao-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 160).

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original for the *Shih-fei-to-pu-lo* of this passage, and the restoration is probably correct. According to the Life the pilgrim went from the southern part of Vaiśāli to the *Fei-to-pu-lo* (the syllable *Shih* being omitted perhaps by a copyist's mistake) city 100 *li* from the Ganges. According to the rendering here given the pilgrim describes the Śvetapur Monastery as having "bright-coloured halls of two storeys". The original for the words within inverted commas is *chung-ko-hui-fei* (重閣翬飛) which Julien translates— "des pavillons à double étage qui s'élançaient dans les airs". But the words *hui-fei* of the text do not mean "s'élançaient dans les airs"; they mean "glowing or resplendent with colours like a *pheasant* (*hui*) in flight (*fei*)", the phrase being taken from the description of a newly-built palace in the „Shi Ching". The word *hui* means *many-coloured*, and is a descriptive epithet applied to the cock pheasant. In this monastery, the Life tells us, the pilgrim obtained a copy of the "P'u-sa-tsang-ching". This was probably the "P'u-sa-tsang-hui" or "Bodhisattva-piṭaka", which forms the 12th division of the "Ta-pao-chi-ching", an interminable Mahāyāna treatise.[1]

At the side of this monastery was a place with traces of their sitting and walking for exercise left by the Four Past Buddhas. Beside this was an Asoka tope on the spot where were traces left by the Buddha when on his way to Magadha he stopped here to look back at Vaiśāli. From the Śvetapur Monastery a journey of above 30 *li* south-east brought the pilgrim, he tells us, to a place on the Ganges famed as the scene of Ānanda's parinirvāṇa. Here were two topes, one on the north and one on the south side of the river, to mark the spots at which Ānanda, on going into extinction, gave one half of his bodily relics to Magadha and the other half to Vesāli. Yuan-chuang describes Ananda as the Julai's cousin, one who heard much and retained all he heard, as of wide research and great application, and the successor of Mahākāśyapa as head of the Buddhist Church. He then relates the incidents connected with the parinirvāṇa of Ānanda.

[1] See Nanjio's Cat. No. 23 (12) and No. 1005.

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FU-LI-CHIH (VṚIJI).

From the Ānanda topes, the pilgrim relates, he went north-east for more than 500 *li* to the *Fu-li-chih* (Vṛiji) country. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, long from east to west and narrow from north to south; it was fertile and abounded in fruits and flowers; the climate was rather cold, and the people were hasty-tempered. There were few Buddhists, and the monasteries were above ten in number, the Brethren of which, less than 1000 in number, were students and adherents of both the "Great and Little Vehicles". There were some tens of Deva-Temples and the Non-Buddhists were very numerous. The chief city was called *Chan-shu-na*; it was in a ruinous state and the old walled city, which was like a country town, had a population of over 3000 families.

A note added to the text here tells us that *Fu-li-chih* was in "North India", and that the north people called it the *San-fa-chih* (or Samvajji) country. In the Buddhist books Vṛiji, the Pali Vajji, is the name of a tribe or people inhabiting an extensive region of which Vesāli was the capital, and also of the country which this people occupied.[1] Yuan-chuang's use of the term, to denote a district in which Vesāli is not included, is peculiar, and it is apparently incorrect. The character which he gives the people does not agree with Ānanda's seven-fold statement of their virtues to Buddha for the information of king Ajātasattu's envoy, but we must not attach much importance to the pilgrim's statement.

To the north-east of the "great river", the pilgrim proceeds, was a monastery with a few Brethren good and learned. To the west of this, on the river-side was a tope, above 30 feet high, with a long reach of the river to its south. This tope was at the spot where the Buddha once converted certain fishermen in the following circumstances. The Buddha was once at Vesāli,

[1] The name is said to have been derived from the advice of the Vaiśāli herdsman to his sons when they were treated roughly by the miraculously-born princes whom he had adopted. He told his sons to *avoid* the two princes, and hence arose the name Vṛiji or Varja from the causative of vṛij meaning to *shun* or *avoid*. Shan-hsien-lü *ch.* 8.

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and there saw by his divine sight that certain Vajjian fishermen at this place had caught a very large fish with 18 heads and a pair of eyes in each head. The fishermen were about to kill their prize. But the Buddha, moved with compassion, determined to prevent this, and to use the fish as an instrument in the reformation of the fishermen. He told the incident to his great disciples, recommending them to go at once to the place; then he and they by magic power went through the air. When he arrived at the spot where the fishermen were with their fish, Buddha said to the men "Don't kill the fish". Then he graciously caused his supernatural power to extend to the great fish giving him a knowledge of his previous existence, the power of expressing himself in speech, and of comprehending human affairs. In reply to Buddha's question the fish recounted in the hearing of all how he had formerly been a bad proud Brahmin named Kapitha. As such, through conceit in his learning, he had treated with contempt the Buddhist religion (*ching-fa* 經法), and used reproachful language to the Buddhist clergy likening them to the lower animals. This bad karma, he saw, had produced his own present bestial condition. Buddha now taught and converted the fish, who died repentant, and was at once reborn in Heaven. Here he recalled his last birth on earth, and moved with gratitude to the Buddha, he proceeded accompanied by a multitude of devas to the place where the Buddha was still sitting. He then did reverence to the Buddha, performed pradakshiṇa to him, and going aside offered him fragrant flowers from Heaven. The Buddha used this incident of the great fish to teach the fishermen the doctrines of his religion and move them to see the sinfulness of their mode of life. The fishermen became converted, tore up their nets and burned their boats; then they became ordained and attained arhatship.

A story like that here related is told in the "Ka-p'i-lo-pên-shêng-ching" quoted in the 14th *chuan* of the Mahāsanghika Vinaya. There, however, the fish-monster has 100 heads, and in the time of Kassapa Buddha he had been a bad contumacious bhikshu. The scene of the incident, as in our narrative, is on the bank of a river in the Vajji country. In neither story is the name of the river given, but the pilgrim calls it "great river", and this may be for Mahānadī, the name of a river in the eastern part of the Vajjian territory. In the Fang-chih the tope is wrongly placed to the north-east of the Ganges, on its bank, and the tope is only

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twenty feet high. Our pilgrim's tope was probably on the north bank of the Mahānadī at a place where there was a long straight reach.

> From the tope of the conversion of the fishermen, Yuan-chuang continues, a journey of above 100 *li* north-east brought one to an Asoka tope on the west of an old city. This tope, which was above 100 feet high, was at a place where the Buddha had preached for six months, admitting devas and men into his communion. About 140 paces north of this was a small tope at a place where the Buddha had made Vinaya regulations. Near this on the west side was a Buddha-hair-and-nail-relic tope. The pilgrim here adds that while the Buddha was sojourning in this district the people from the towns and villages far and near flocked to the place; in honour of Buddha they burned incense, strewed flowers, and kept lamps burning day and night.

Although the language of all this passage about the Vajji country seems to intimate that the pilgrim is writing from a personal visit, yet the nature of his observations may make us suspicious. He may have obtained all the information he communicates during his stay at Vesāli; and as the Life does not mention a visit to this Vajji country we are perhaps justified in concluding that we have here only what the pilgrim heard from others and learned from books.

NI-P'O-LO OR NEPAL.

> The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that "from this", that is perhaps, from the neighbourhood of the tope to the west of the old city, a journey of 1400 or 1500 *li* over a mountain and into a valley brought one into the Ni-p'o-lo or Nepāl country. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit and as situated in the Snow Mountains, the region presenting an uninterrupted succession of hill and valley. The capital was above 20 *li* in circuit; the country yielded grain and much fruit, also copper, yaks, and francolins; copper coins were the medium of exchange; the climate was cold; the people were rude and deceitful, good faith and rectitude were slighted by them; they had no learning but were skillful mechanics; they were ugly and coarse in appearance, and they believed both in false and true religion, the Buddhist monasteries and the Deva temples touching each other. There were above 2000 Buddhist ecclesiastics

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who were attached to both "Vehicles", and the number of the Non-Buddhists was not ascertained. The kings of Nepāl, the author adds, were Kshatriya Licchavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A recent king whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-ma or Aṁsuvamma, in Chinese Kuang-chou (光 胄) or "Radiant Armour", had composed a treatise on Etymology. Near the south-east side of the capital, we are told, was a small pond the water of which could make burning things blaze, and ignite things thrown into the pond.

It is remarkable that the annotator to the text from which the above passage has been transcribed places Nepāl in "Mid India". The statement occurs in all the editions, but the "Fang-chih" has "North India". Then notwithstanding the statement at the end of this *chüan* about the pilgrim returning to Vaiśāli, it may be doubted whether he actually made the double journey from that city to Nepāl and back. The Life does not mention any place between Śvetapur and Magadha. Still it is not impossible that Yuan-chuang may have personally visited Nepāl. We have a more detailed account of the sights of this country in the Fang-chih than we have in the Records, and the information given in the former treatise may have been partly obtained from the account of Wang Hsüan-tsê's great expedition about this time. We learn from the Fang-chih that there was at the capital of this country a large building in seven storeys, above 200 feet high and 80 paces in circumference, the upper part of which accommodated 10000 persons; the chambers of this building had exquisite carvings, and were adorned with precious stones.

The pond or tank of which Yuan-chuang makes mention was, we are told in the Fang-chih, near the "Liquid-fire village", and it was called the *A-ch'i-p'o-ni-chih* or the *A-ch'i-p'o-t'ien* (or *-li*)*-shui*. These words apparently mean the "Deadly Tank" or the "Deadly Gulf", *a-ch'i-p'o* being for *ajīva*. The Tank was only twenty two paces in circuit, and it had contained a case in which was the tiara to be worn by Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha; the tiara in the meantime is in the care of the Fire-dragon of this Tank.

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We learn also from this book that on an isolated hill above ten *li* to the south of the capital was a Buddhist monastery in several storeys and of fantastic shapes.

At this time, about A. D. 645, Nepāl was a dependency of T'u-fan or Tibet, and it joined that country in sending a contingent to help Wang Hsüan-tsê in his trouble with the usurper of Magadha.[1]

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[1] Fang-chih *ch.* 2; T'ang-shu *ch.* 221; Ma T. l. *ch.* 335.

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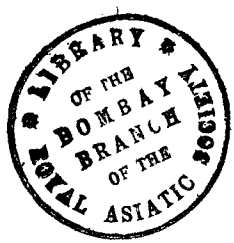

CHAPTER XIV.

CHUAN VIII.

MAGADHA.

From Vaiśāli, the pilgrim narrates, he went south across the Ganges to Magadha.

Neither in these Records nor in the Life is the distance stated, but in the "Fang-chih", Magadha, that is, Rājagaha, is 150 *li* to the south of Vaiśāli. Fa-hsien merely tells us that from the Ānanda Topes he crossed the river and descended south for a yojana into the Magadha country.[1] Between Vaiśāli and Pāṭaliputra lay the Vajjian villages *Na-t'ê* (那 陀) or Nataka, and farther on *kou-li* (拘利) or Koṭi, the latter being separated from the Magadha country by a river, viz., the Ganges.[2]

Our pilgrim proceeds to describe the Magadha country in his usual manner. It was, he states, above 5000 *li* in circuit. There were few inhabitants in the walled cities, but the other towns were well peopled; the soil was rich, yielding luxuriant crops. It produced a kind of rice with large grain of extraordinary savour and fragrance called by the people "the rice for grandees". The land was low and moist and the towns were on plateaus; from the beginning of summer to the middle of autumn the plains were overflowed, and boats could be used. The inhabitants were honest in character; the climate was hot; the people esteemed learning and reverenced Buddhism. There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries, and more than 10000 ecclesiastics, for the most part adherents of the Mahāyāna system. There were some

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 27.

[2] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 2. Sar. Vin. Yao-chih, *ch.* 6 where we have *Na-ti-ka* and *Ku-ti* as the names of the two towns or villages.

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tens of Deva-temples, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous.

South of the Ganges, the pilgrim proceeds, was an old city above 70 *li* (about fourteen miles) in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible although the city had long been a wilderness. In the far past when men lived for countless years it had been called "Kusumapura city" from the numerous flowers (Kusuma) in the royal inclosure (pura). Afterwards when men's lives still extended to milleniums the name was changed to "Pāṭaliputra city". The pilgrim gives the following account of the origin of the city and its second name. Once on a time a very learned brahmin had a large number of disciples. A party of these on a certain occasion wandered into the wood, and a young man of their number appeared unhappy and disconsolate. To cheer and amuse the gloomy youth his companions agreed to get up a mock marriage for him. A man and a woman were chosen to stand as parents for the bridegroom, and another couple represented the parents of the imaginary bride. They were all near a pāṭali tree at the time, and as the name of the tree had a feminine termination they decided to make it the bride. All the ceremonies of a marriage were gone through, and the man acting as father of the bride broke off a branch of the pāṭali tree, and gave it to the bridegroom to be his bride. When all was over, and the other young men were going home, they wanted their companion, the bridegroom, to go with them, but he insisted on remaining near the tree. Here at dusk an old man appeared with his wife and a young maiden, and the old man gave the maiden to the young student to be his wife. This couple lived together for a year when a son was born to them. The student, now tired of the lonely wild life of the woods, wanted to go back to his home, but the old man, his father-in-law, induced him to remain by the promise of a properly built establishment, and the promise was carried out very promptly. Afterwards when the seat of government was removed to this place it got the name Pāṭaliputra because it had been built by the gods for the *son* of the pāṭali tree, and it kept the name ever since.

In the part of this story which tells of the students making the pāṭali tree the bride the translators had the reading *wei-nü-hsü-shu-ye* (謂女壻樹也), "they called it the son-in-law tree". This is nonsense, and cannot be forced into agreement with the context. In the abstract of the passage given above the reading of the D text has been followed, viz. *wei-nü-shêng*(聲)*-shu*, "saying it was a

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feminine tree", that is, they took the tree for the bride because its name had a feminine termination. The place where the mock ceremony was performed was close to a pāṭalī, Bignonia suaveolens or Trumpet-flower tree, and the bride was called Miss Pāṭalī, her father in the play giving a branch of the tree, as his daughter, to the student to be his wife. Afterwards, as the story shows, the Dryads of the tree, like the melancholy mortal, took the whole affair in earnest, and made the marriage a reality. The old man and the old mother and her daughter are the god and goddesses of the tree, and the daughter becomes the student's wife. When he proposes to go away the old god by superhuman agency builds for the residence of his newly born grandson a substantial establishment. This was the nucleus of the city which from the story of its origin obtained and kept the name Pāṭaliputra. In Buddhist books the building of the city with this name is sometimes ascribed to king Ajātasattu in the Buddha's time. It was built as a defence against the Vajjians, and it had a Gotama Gate and a Gotama Landing-place from the name of the Buddha.[1] This city is described as being 240 *li* from the Rajagaha mountains in a north-by-east direction.

> Continuing his description, the pilgrim tells us that to the north of the "old palace" (that is capital) was a stone pillar some tens of feet in height on the site of Asoka's "Hell". "In the 100th year after Sakya Ju-lai's nirvāṇa", he says, "king Asoka great-grandson of king Bimbisāra transferred his capital from Rājagaha to Pāṭaliputra, and surrounded the latter old city with an outer wall." Of this city the long lapse of time had left only the old foundations. Of monasteries, deva-temples, and topes there were hundreds of ruins, but only two or three of the old structures survived. On the north of the capital and near the Ganges was a small walled city containing above 1000 inhabitants: this was the Hell-prison of king Asoka. The pilgrim then gives us a short history of this Prison or Hell. It was instituted by king Asoka, soon after his accession, when he was cruel and tyrannical. It was surrounded by high walls with a lofty tower

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[1] Chang-a-han-ching *ch.* 2; Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 36; Vin. Mah. VI. 28; Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta (Dīgha II. 89).

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at each corner; it was made to resemble hell with all its tortures, such as great furnaces of fierce heat and cutting instruments with sharp points and edges; a fierce wicked man was sought out and made jailer. At first only local criminals were all, without regard to the nature of their offences, sent to this prison; afterwards casual passers by were wantonly dragged in and put to death; all who entered were killed, and so secrecy was preserved. But it came to pass that a recently ordained śramaṇa one day on his begging rounds came to the Prison gate, and was caught by the jailer, who proceeded to kill him. The śramaṇa, greatly terrified, prayed for a short respite in order to make his confession, and the request was granted. At this moment a prisoner was brought in and at once dismembered and cut to atoms in the presence of the śramaṇa: the latter was moved by the spectacle to deep pity, attained the contemplation of impermanency, and realised arhatship. When his time came the jailer put the śramaṇa in a caldron of boiling water, but the water became cold, and the śramaṇa was seen to sit in it on a lotus-seat. This marvel was reported to the king, who came to see it, and extolled the miraculous protection. The jailer now told the king that according to his own rule, (that no one who entered the Prison was to be allowed to leave it), His Majesty must die. The king admitted the force of the remark, but giving the jailer precedence he ordered the lictors to cast him into the great furnace. Then His Majesty left the Prison, caused it to be demolished, and made his penal code liberal.

This short history of Asoka's Hell was probably condensed from the legends[1] in the Divyāvadāna and "Tsa-a-han-ching".[1] These agree closely in all the main incidents, and differ in some particulars, from the story as told in other books. According to the former accounts king Asoka had burned to death 500 ladies of his harem, and his chief minister Rādhagupta (called also Anuruddha), reminding him that such proceedings were unseemly for a king, recommended His Majesty to institute a place of punishment under a proper official. The king took the advice, and caused a jail or place of punishment to be constructed, a handsome attractive building with trees and tanks like a city. After search and enquiry a sufficiently

[1] Divyāv. p. 374 ff.; A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 1; A-yü-wang-ching *ch.* 1; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 23; Bur. Int. p. 365 ff.

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cruel, ugly, wicked man named Chaṇḍa-Giri, in Chinese *O-shan* (惡 山) or "Wicked Hill", was found for the post of jailer; he was duly installed and allowed to make the rule that no one who went in was to be let out. The jail was furnished with the tortures described in a Buddhist book on the infernal places of punishment, Wicked Hill having listened to a monk of the Ketuma monastery reading this exhilarating treatise aloud. But according to Fa-hsien[1] and others Asoka had personally visited the infernal regions (the hells within the Iron Hills), and studied their tortures. Now Wicked Hill in this cruel Hell of Despair had boiled, roasted, pounded to fragments, and otherwise tortured to death very many wretched victims. But one day a stranger bhikshu named Samudra, in Chinese *Hai* or "Sea", in ignorance and by accident, came to the gate of the Prison, and wandered in, attracted by the beauties of the place. Wicked Hill immediately had the bhikshu seized and was proceeding to boil him when the bhikshu piteously implored a short respite. The jailer demurred at first but at length yielded. At that time one of the king's concubines arrived to undergo punishment for misconduct. She was at once pounded to atoms in the presence of the bhikshu. The latter now made the most of his respite, and by zealous application became an arhat. When his time for being boiled came, events occurred as Yuan-chuang relates. We have the story of Asoka's Hell-prison told also by Fa-hsien; but he places the site about half a mile to the south of the city, whereas Yuan-chuang places it to the north. Fa-hsien's account is not taken from the "Divyāvadāna", but it agrees with that work in placing the site of the Hell near the tope erected by Asoka over Ajātasattu's share of Buddha's relics. Yuan-chuang also seems to have found the site near, and to the north of, the Relics Tope as Fa-hsien describes. Our pilgrim's statements, however,

[1] Fo-kuo-chi *chs.* 27 and 32. See also Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun *ch.* 3 (Bun. No. 1290); Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan *ch.* 3 (No. 1340).

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are not quite consistent with themselves. But as he remained at the place for seven days visiting all the sacred traces his account is not to be set aside lightly.

> We return to the pilgrim's description. Not far south from the Prison, he tells us, was a tope, the lower part of which had sunk out of sight leaving only the dome, which was ornamented with precious substances, and the stone balustrade. This, he adds, was one of the 84000 topes, and it was erected for Asoka in his palace by human agents; it contained a *shêng* or pint of the Buddha's, relics and it had miraculous manifestations, and illuminations by divine light. The pilgrim goes on to tell how the 84000 topes came to be built and the relics deposited in them. After Asoka had abolished his Hell the great arhat Upagupta made a skilful use of his opportunities to convert the king and succeeded in winning him over to Buddhism. When the king expressed to Upagupta his desire to increase the topes for the worship of the Buddha's relics the arhat replied— It has been my wish that your majesty by means of your religious merit would employ the gods that you might carry out your former vow and protect Buddha, the Canon, and the Church, and now is the opportunity. When Asoka heard all this he was greatly pleased, and having summoned the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) he gave them his orders. The gods were to go over all Jambudvīpa, and wherever there was a population of a full Koṭi, they were to erect a tope for Buddha's relics. The gods set up the topes, and reported to the king, who then divided the relics which he had taken from the topes of the eight countries and distributed them among the gods. He then told Upagupta that he would like to have all the relics deposited in the topes at the same instant. This was accomplished by Upagupta kindly putting his hand across the sun's face at midday, the gods having been ordered to deposit their relics at the moment the hand was seen darkening the sun.

It will be seen that in this description our pilgrim represents the old relic-tope of Pāṭaliputra as having been built by human hands, and yet as one of the 84000 topes erected by the gods or Yakshas. Fa-hsien also makes this tope to be one of the 84000 set up by the Yakshas for Asoka. The dust-offering in a former existence, and the prophecy by the Buddha in consequence, had been related to the king by the bhikshu saved from a cruel death in the Hell-prison. It was through the merit of this offering,

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and the desire then expressed, that Asoka was now able, as a mahāraja, to make the yakshas do his bidding and spread far and wide "to the utmost limits of Jambudvīpa" the worship of Buddha's relics. The 84000 topes set up by Asoka are generally said to have been for the distribution of the Buddha's relics taken for the purpose by the king from seven of the eight topes erected by the original recipients.[1] But they are also said to have been made for the worship of the 84000 aphorisms of Buddhism or "sections of the law". In this version of the legend it is a vihāra, not a tope, that is made for each aphorism, and the work is done by the people of the various districts.[2] The words here rendered by "a population of a full koṭi" are *hu-man-kou-ti* (戶 滿 拘 胝), "a full koṭi of individuals". It is not easy to see how Julien could translate these words by "dans chaque ville possédant un koṭi de souvarṇas". We have already had to notice this limitation made by Asoka in our pilgrim's account of Takshaśilā.

> Our pilgrim next describes the stone with Buddha's footprints. This stone, which is *large* in one part of the description and *not large* in another, was in a temple near the Relic Tope. The pilgrim informs us that when the Buddha was leaving Magadha, for the last time on his way north to Kuśinagara, he stood on this stone and turned round to take a farewell look at Magadha. He left his footprints on it, and these were still distinctly visible at the time of the pilgrim's visit. The foot-prints, he says, were 18 inches long by 6 inches wide; on the right and left sides were wheels or disks; each of the ten toes had artistic venation; the lamination was distinct, and at times shed a bright light. When Asoka removed to Pāṭaliputra he had the Foot-prints Stone put under a cover, and as it was near the capital he was constant in paying it worship. Afterwards various princes tried to have the Stone carried to their countries, but it could not be removed. In recent times king Śāśaṅka having tried in vain to efface the footprints caused the Stone to be thrown into the Ganges, but it returned to its original place.

The Stone of this passage was seen also by Fa-hsien

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[1] Divyāv. p. 331. Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 23.

[2] Shan-chien-lü *ch.* 1. Mah. *ch.* V. p. 19.

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in a temple near the Relic Tope. According to the Life there was a wheel on each sole, the tips of the toes had svastika tracery, and there were vases and fish and other things. Julien translates the words *hua-wên* (花文) by "des ornements de fleurs", but they mean simply the artistic tracing of the lines in the toes— the wan-tzŭ-hua-wên or svastika tracery of the Life. Then the *yü-hsing-yin* (or *ying*)-*ch'i* (魚形隱 (or 映) 起) of the text is in Julien's rendering "des corps de poissons s'élèvent en relief". But I think the words here only mean that the lamination of the prints stood out in relief. The figures on the stone were of course wrought by an artist, and they retained the scaly character of the work as left by him. But to the pilgrim's believing eye the footprints retained the impression of the lines and figures which adorned the soles of the Buddha's feet. These, however, he describes as they appeared to him.

> Near the Temple of the Footprints Stone, the narrative proceeds, was a stone pillar above 30 feet high with an inscription much injured. The sum of the contents of the inscription was that Asoka, strong in faith, had thrice given Jambudvīpa as a religious offering to the Buddhist order, and thrice redeemed it with his own precious substances.

Fa-hsien also mentions this pillar and places it south of the Relic Tope: he describes it as 30 feet high and 14 or 15 feet in circumference.

> Continuing his description Yuan-chuang relates that to the north of the "old palace", that is, old capital, was a large stone cavern which on the outside had the appearance of a hill, and inside was some scores of feet wide. Asoka had made this by the agency of the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) for his uterine younger brother named Mahendra when the latter was a mendicant ascetic. This brother, the pilgrim relates, had used his high birth to slight the laws and lead a dissolute life, oppressing the people until they became provoked. The high ministers and old statesmen reported the matter to the king giving him advice and requesting that the laws be observed and justice administered. The king said with tears to Mahendra— "As sovereign I have the protection of all men and specially of you my brother; but forgetting my affection I have not in time guarded and guided you, and you have now incurred the penalties of the law. I am

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in fear of my ancestors, and perplexed by counsels". Mahendra made obeisance and confessed saying— "I have misconducted myself presuming to break the laws. I pray for a reprieve of seven days". The king then consigned Mahendra to a dark chamber, with a keeper, and had him supplied with dainties and luxuries. On the sixth day Mahendra was in great trouble and fear, but by renewed bodily and mental application he attained arhatship; then mounting in the air he made divine exhibitions, and quitting the affairs of this life he went off to lodge in a mountain gorge. Asoka induced him to return to the capital by promising to make him a cave-dwelling there. Mahendra consented, and Asoka called the inferior gods to a feast telling them to bring each a stone seat for himself. When the feast was over the gods were requested to pile up the stones so as to make an "empty house".

It will be observed that in this story Yuan-chuang describes Asoka as making a hill and cave for his brother at the city and near the north outer wall. Fa-hsien also tells of this hill and cave, and places them within the city, and so does another author who adds a large stone image in a niche in the hill. But the other accounts do not introduce the yaksha-made hill and cave, but represent the king's brother as going away to a distance from Pāṭaliputra to live as a hermit or a religious devotee. Yuan-chuang calls the brother Mahendra, translated by *Ta-Ti* or "Great Sovereign". In the Pali books this, Mahinda, is the name of Asoka's son, his younger brother's name being Tissa (Tishya). The Divyāvadāna calls the brother Vītāśoka and so in the "A-yü-wang-ching", but the "A-yü-wang-chuan" calls him *So-ta-to* (宿大哆) perhaps for Sudatta.[1] One treatise calls him *Siu-ka-tu-lu* (修伽妬路) perhaps for Sugātra which is translated in another work by Shan-jung (善容) "of good appearance" or "auspicious bearing".[2] This brother's only offence, according to the Buddhist books, was that he as a Tīrthika spoke dis-

[1] Divyāv. *ch.* XXVIII; A-yü-wang-ching *ch.* 3; A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 2; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 23; For *Vītāśoka* we find *Vigatāśoka* as in Divyāv. p. 370.

[2] Fên-pie-kung-tê-lun *ch.* 3; Ch'iu-li-lao-ching (求離牢獄經)

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respectfully to the king about the professed Buddhists; he said that these men living at ease with good food and clothing, were subject to their passions, and that Buddhism did not give emancipation. To convince him of his error Asoka had recourse to the following expedient. By an arrangement with his chief minister he disappeared for a time; the minister invested Vītāśoka with the crown and other trappings of royalty as an experiment. Asoka then appeared suddenly and pretending to regard Vītāśoka, whom he found wearing the crown, as a usurper, sentenced him to be beheaded at the end of seven days. In the interim the condemned prince was to have all kinds of sensual pleasures with music and dancing. On the seventh day, in reply to a question, he told the king that he had not had any enjoyment, having not even heard the music or seen the dancing, the fear of death being always before him. The king used this answer to shew his brother how wrong he had been in the language he had used about the professed Buddhists who, having always a horror of birth and death, could not indulge in any carnal pleasures. He then set Vītāśoka free, and the latter, with the king's permission, became a lay Buddhist and went to live in a frontier land. When he attained arhatship he returned to Pāṭaliputra to visit Asoka, but he soon left for another district: there he was beheaded by a man who mistook him for a Nirgrantha, a reward having been offered by the king for the head of every man of that sect brought to him.

Yuan-chuang, in his description, tells us that to the north of the old capital, and south of the Hell, was the large stone trough made by the gods for Asoka to hold the food which he provided for the Buddhist bhikshus.

The pilgrim next takes us across to the south of the capital. To the south-west of the old city, he relates, was a small rocky mountain in the steep sides of which the inferior gods (*kuei-shên*) had made some tens of caves for Upagupta and the other arhats. Beside this mountain were the stone foundations of an old terrace, and tanks of dimpled water clear as a mirror, people from far and near called them "the holy water", and to drink or wash in the water effaced the soil of sin.

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The description continues— South-west from the Small Hill were five topes the foundations of which had disappeared leaving the bases standing out high; looked at from a distance they seemed to form a hillock. Their sides were some hundreds of paces [in length] and on the tops men of later times had erected other small topes. According to the Indian records, when Asoka's 84000 topes were built there remained five pints (*shêng*) of relics, and for each *shêng* he built here a magnificent tope surpassing those of other places. Miracles occurred at them testifying to the Ju-lai's five-fold spiritual body. Disciples of little faith made the unauthorized statement that the topes represented the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances. After this an unbelieving king came with his army to excavate for the treasures: but the earth quaked, the sun was darkened, the topes thundered, the soldiers fell dead, and the horses and elephants fled; since then no one has dared to covet. Others say that as there are differences in the theories, and no certainty, we really get the facts by following the old narrative.

Fa-hsien does not make any mention of these five topes, and Yuan-chuang's story about them does not agree with the legend about the 84000 Relic Topes. Julien's translation and treatment of this curious story leaves much to be desired. Thus Yuan-chuang states that extraordinary phenomena occurred at the topes "to testify to the five-fold spiritual body of the Tathāgata (Ju-lai)". The text for the words in inverted commas is *i-piao-ju-lai-wu-fên-fa-shên* (以表如來五分法身). This is rendered by Julien— "Par là, il voulut honorez la personne de *Jou-lai*, composée de cinq parties." Here, to pass over other matters, the all-important word *fa* is left out. Then Julien has a note in which he professes to give from a Chinese dictionary the five constituents of the *Fa-shên* or spiritual body. But the passage which he cites gives the "five skandhas", and Julien wrongly took them as the constituents of the spiritual body. They are the elements or "aggregations" of the human body of Ju-lai, and of every human being, and they are contrasted with the five parts of the spiritual constitution of Ju-lai and all arhats. These five parts are moral discipline, absorbed meditation, spiritual wisdom, spiritual emancipation, and the perception of this emancipation, and this is the description quoted in the

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book which Julien cites.[1] It was the perfect combination of these in himself at which the Buddha aimed during the countless ages in which he had been born and reborn into mortal life; and it is the perfection of these in his professed disciples which constitutes his eternal presence in his church. The prodigies at the five topes were the outward evidences of the unseen spirit of the Buddha abiding in the world. It was on the erroneous supposition that these topes were merely the Treasure-stores of king Nanda that an impious prince tried to excavate them, and fared as our pilgrim describes. To the story of this prince Yuan-chuang adds— *tzŭ-tzŭ-i-chiang-wu-kan-chi-yü* (自玆已降無敢覬覦), "from this down to the present no one has dared to covet", that is, since this king's vain attempt no one has ventured to give effect to his desire to have the treasures. Julien gives this translation of the words— "le roi, lui-même, s'avoua vaincu et abjura ses projets de rapine", a rendering impossible from every point of view. In the sentence which follows in Julien's translation the author's meaning is again missed. The important words *huo-yue* (或曰) "or it is said" or "others say" are left out, and the translator erroneously introduces the words "mais nous". The pilgrim mentions the two theories about the five topes, one was that they were the Treasure-stores of king Nanda, and the other, based on old records, was that they were Asoka topes.

We do not seem to have any information about these buried treasures of the king called Nanda. This was the name of the dynasty which was succeeded by that of the Mauryas under Chandragupta. In the „Mahāvaṃsa" the last ruler of the former dynasty is called Dhana-Nanda, who seems to have also had the name Mahāpadma, and perhaps Chandramas.[2] In the "Divyā-

[1] P'u-sa-pên-shêng-man-lun (No. 1312) *ch.* 4; Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching *ch.* 33 (No. 113); Ta-ming-san-ts'ang-fa-shu *ch.* 22 (No. 1621); Chiao-shêng-fa-shu *ch.* 17 (No. 1636).

[2] Mah. p. 16. Rockhill, 'Life', p. 186; Tār. S. 291; Milindapañho

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vadāna" we have Nanda given as the name of Asoka's grand-father Chandragupta, and in another treatise we have a wise but conceited king Nanda who is outwitted by Nāgasena.[1] But we do not find mention of treasures hidden by any one of these.

We now return again to our pilgrim's description. He tells us that to the south-east of the "old city" was the "Ku-t'a-Saṅghārāma" according to the A, B, and D texts, but in C and in the "Fang-chih" it is "Ku-ku-t'a Saṅghārāma" (or Cock Monastery). This monastery, the pilgrim states, had been built by Asoka, but it was in ruins, the foundations alone remaining. After Asoka became a Buddhist he summoned an assembly of 1000 Buddhist monks, common monks and arhats, in this monastery and supplied them with the requisites of their order.

Fa-hsien, who agrees with Yuan-chuang in placing the Cock Monastery to the south-east of Paṭaliputra, does not make any mention of the great gathering of bhikshus at it, nor is this mentioned in the "Fang-chih". The number of the bhikshus who accepted Asoka's invitation to meet at Pāṭaliputra is given in other books as 300,000. These Brethren did not come to hold a Council but only to a grand meeting and entertainment, to attend Asoka's first "quinquennial festival of the holy priesthood". The senior among them was the great Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who had seen the Buddha.[2] In the D text of the Life this monastery has the name *Ku-t'a*, but in another text it is *Ni-ku-t'a* that is perhaps, Nigrodha. This was the name of the son of Susīma, the elder half-brother of Asoka, whom the latter murdered. Nigrodha became a Buddhist monk, and was in great favour with his uncle, being instrumental, according to some accounts, in converting the king to Buddhism.[3]

p. 292, translated by Rhys Davids, 'Questions of Milinda' Vol. II. p. 147; J. R. A. S. Vol. III. P. II. p. 153.

[1] Divyāv. p. 369. See Tsa-pao-tsang-ching *ch.* 9 (No. 1329).

[2] Divyāv. p. 398 ff.; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 23; A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 2. In the Shan-chien-lü *ch.* 2 we read of the Council of 1000 assembled at Pāṭaliputra to settle the Vinaya.

[3] Mah. *ch.* V; Shan-chien-lü *ch.* 1: in these works the name of Asoka's elder brother is Sumana, but Susīma is the name in Divyāv. and other works. J. R. A. S. Vol. III. P. II. p. 162.

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In some translations of the Indian books the name of the monastery is *Ki-t'ou-mo* (雞頭末), Ki being the translation[1] of Kukkuṭa and *ṭ'ou-mo* being perhaps for dhāma, *site* or *house*. In other works it is the Cock-wood Vihāra or the Cock-bird Vihāra,[2] and it seems to be sometimes called Aśokārāma. In his mention of the Brethren brought together in this establishment by Asoka, Yuan-chuang may have had in his mind the Council which met under the auspices of that sovereign. The passage about this assembly has been misunderstood, and consequently wrongly interpreted, by Julien. He renders *fan-shêng* (凡聖) by "les laics et les hommes doués de sainteté", and divorces them from their proper union. They belong to the words which precede and qualify them, the *fan* being the common Brethren who were still learners, and the *shêng* those who were arhats. There was an earlier Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaliputta, probably only huts in the park. Asoka may have built a monastery on this ancient site. There was also another Kukkuṭārāma, near Kosambi, in the Buddha's time.

Yuan-chuang, proceeding with his account, relates that by the side of the Kukkuṭārāma was a large tope called the Āmalaka stupa, āmalaka being "the name of an Indian medicinal fruit". To account for the existence of this tope he tells the story of the dying Asoka and his last gift of the half of an āmalaka (or āmala) fruit. The king was *in extremis* and, knowing this, he wished to give his valuables in alms to the Buddhist clergy; but his statesmen had engrossed the administration, and would not allow him to carry out his desires. Once at food he kept an āmalaka and played with it until one half was spoiled: then holding it in his hand he sighed, and soliloquized on the vanity of human grandeur. After a few words with his ministers he charged the one in attendance to carry the half-fruit to the Kukkuṭārāma, and give it to the Brethren with a message from him. The abbot accepted the alms-offering in pity to the king, gave the fruit as requested to the Brethren, having instructed the steward to

[1] A-yü-wang-chuan *ch.* 1. But we also find the word Ketuma as the name of a monastery here.

[2] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 21 and *ch.* 23.

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have the fruit cooked, to keep the kernel, and to have a tope raised.

The story of Asoka's gift of half a myrobalan (āmalaka) fruit is told in several Buddhist treatises. When the king became old he named his grandson, the son of Kunāla, to be his successor. This prince, by name Saṁpati, acting under the advice of the high officials who had obtained all power, stopped the king's largesses to the Buddhist church while the king was still nominally sovereign. He also gradually reduced the services and allowances for the king, until at last he sent him half an āmalaka fruit on an earthen plate. The king, hereupon, sadly remarked to his courtiers, as in Yuan-chuang's story, that he had sunk from being sovereign of Jambudvīpa to be lord of only this half-fruit. He then sent this, as all he had to give, to the Brethren of the Kukkuṭārāma, and Yaśa, the head of the establishment, had it cooked and distributed.[1] There is no mention in the Buddhist books of the erection of a tope to commemorate this gift, and Fa-hsien does not seem to have seen or heard of the tope.

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds. To the north-west of the Āmalaka Tope, in an old monastery, was the Institution of the Gong-call Tope. Once, the pilgrim explains, there were in this city above 100 Buddhist monasteries with Brethren of high character and great learning, and the Tīrthikas were silenced. Then the Buddhist clergy gradually died, and there was a great falling off in their successors, "while the Tīrthikas (*wai-tao*) transmitting learning from teacher to disciple made it a profession." So when the rival partisans were called together thousands and myriads collected to the Buddhist establishments, shouts were raised—"strike loud the gongs; call the learned together". The simple flocked to the meeting, and there was wild beating of gongs. At the Tīrthikas' request the king appointed a public discussion to decide their respective merits with the condition that, if the Tīrthikas proved successful, the Buddhist monasteries should not be allowed to call meetings by gong-beating. The Buddhists were defeated, and they had borne their humiliation twelve years, when Deva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna P'usa in South India, obtained leave from his master to go to Pāṭaliputra city and

[1] Divyāv. p. 430; Ta-chuang-yen-lun-ching *ch.* 5 (No. 1182).

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meet the Tīrthikas in discussion. The fame of Deva P'usa had reached the city; and the Tīrthikas, hearing of his proposed visit, induced the king to order the gate-keepers to forbid any foreign monk to enter the city. Deva, however, came in disguised; and on the morning after his arrival beat the gong of the monastery in which he had slept. This caused great excitement, and Deva obtained what he wanted, a public discussion. In the course of twelve days he refuted the propositions of the Tīrthikas, and vanquished them utterly in argument. The king and his ministers were greatly pleased, and they raised this sacred structure as a memorial.

On this story we have to observe that it seems to show that the Cock Monastery (Kukkuṭārāma) was within the walls of Pāṭaliputra. This was evidently the "old monastery" which had the tope of the Gong-striking, this and the Āmalaka tope being apparently within the enclosing walls of the Monastery. The part of Yuan-chuang's story which, in the abstract here given, is within inverted commas, has not been well rendered in Julien's translation. Thus the words *chün-yü-t'ung-chih-miu-yu-k'ou-chi* (群愚同止謬有扣擊) "dolts flocked to the meeting, there was wild beating",[1] are in his version— "Quand la multitude des hommes stupides se sera réunie avec nous, nous voulons combattre leurs erreurs et les terrasser", making the words to be uttered by *les hérétiques*. It is not easy to see how the last four Chinese characters could be forced to yield the meaning here given to them. Then at the end of the story Julien magnifies the P'usa's victory in the statement that "En moins d'une heure, il terrassa tous les hérétiques". The Chinese here rendered by *une heure* is *chie-ch'ên* (浹辰), a classical term which means a *period of twelve days*. That the great religious discussion lasted nearly twelve days is not improbable, and it is clearly impossible that Deva should have replied to his opponents' statements within one hour. It may be noticed that in the "Fang-

[1] The words *k'ou-chi*, "to knock and strike" may perhaps be used here in the sense of *excitement, hurly-burly*— "Stupid persons flocked to the meeting and there was disorderly excitement."

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chih" it is Nāgārjuna who goes to Pāṭaliputra to confront the Tīrthikas.

> The next object of which the pilgrim makes mention is the old foundation of the house in which the "Demon-eloquent" brahmin had lived, and the mention of this leads to the story of the exposure of the brahmin by Aśvaghosha. Yuan-chuang, giving apparently a local tradition, tells how there once was in Pāṭaliputra a brahmin who dwelt in a hut alone. He did not mix with his fellow-mortals, but sought success by worshipping demons, and was in league with elves; his sonorous discourse was small-talk, and his fine speech was echo-answering; old eminent scholars had not precedence of him, and ordinary men looked up to him as an arhat. But Aśvaghosha P'usa, whose knowledge embraced all things, and whose spiritual attainments extended over the "Three Vehicles", suspected the brahmin of being dependent on evil spirits for all his cleverness with his tongue. The P'usa reasoned that when fluency of speech is the gift of evil spirits what is said is not an answer to a question asked, and the speaker cannot repeat what he has once uttered to another. So Aśvaghosha visited the brahmin in order to put him to the test, and the interview convinced him that the brahmin was dependent on evil spirits. At Aśvaghosha's request the king summoned the brahmin to a public discussion at which the king was present. Aśvaghosha stated the subtleties of Buddhism, and the general principles of the Five Sciences, in a thorough manner and with clear eloquent diction. When the brahmin had spoken in reply Aśvaghosha said to him— You have missed the gist of my discourse, you must make your speech over again. But the brahmin remained silent so the P'usa jeered at him saying— "Why dont you explain. The sprites you serve should hasten to give you language". Then Aśvaghosha at once removed the screen which the brahmin kept before his face in order to ascertain what was strange in the possessed one's face. The brahmin, now put to utter confusion, prayed him to desist, and Aśvaghosha merely said to the audience— The collapse of this man's reputation today is an instance of "an empty name does not endure". Then the king addressing Aśvaghosha said— Had it not been for your abundant virtues, sir, this delusion would not have been exposed: the genius who knows others excels posterity, and reflects glory on predecessors, and according to the laws his great services must be recognized.

In this passage Yuan-chuang represents Aśvaghosha as having secular learning which embraced all things and "spiritual attainments extending to the Three Vehicles".

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The Chinese for the last clause is *tao-poh-san-shêng* (道播三乘) and it is rendered by Julien "dans sa carrière il avait su faire usage des trois Vehicules". But this rendering is not in accordance with the construction of the passage, or the meaning of the word *poh*. In a note Julien gives the three Vehicles as those of the śrāvaka, the Pratyeka Buddha, and the Bodhisattva. These are the three mentioned in Buddhist books, and they are states or degrees of spiritual attainment, the lowest being that of the śrāvaka and the highest that of the Bodhisattva, which is also called the "Great Vehicle". Our pilgrim makes Aśvaghosha have a twofold test for detecting the cooperation of evil spirits with a man who is a fine talker. The test is that the man does not give a real answer to a question, and that he cannot repeat what he has once said to another. In the public discussion the test is applied with marked success. Julien's translation misses all the point of the passage, and spoils the story. Then Julien makes Yuan-chuang state that Ma-ming (Aśvaghosha) "connaissait les démons", but Yuan-chuang merely states that Ma-ming "mentally recognized evil spirits" that is, became convinced that his suspicion as to the source of the brahmin's powers was correct. Julien translates the phrase *chüi-hou* (絕後) by "n'a pas de successeurs", and he supports his rendering by a reference to an expression quoted in the "P'ei-wên-yun-foo". But the reference is an unfortunate one, as the painter in the passage cited had a successor by whom he was surpassed. The translation is not good, and it is un-Chinese as an expression of praise. *Chui-hou* or *Chui-yü*(于)-*hou* means to *stand out to posterity* or *to be above those who follow.* The man who has genius to know others sheds a glory on his ancestors, and is a standard of superiority to his followers or posterity. The Ma-ming P'u-sa or Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva of this passage is apparently the bhikshu who flourished 300, or according to some 600 or 800 years after Buddha's decease. This Aśvaghosha was originally a brahmin, and was converted and ordained, according to

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some authorities by Fu-na-shê supposed to be for Puṇyayaśa,[1] and according to others by the great Pārśva.[2] This last defeated Aśvaghosha in a controversy held in *Shi-ka*, apparently in or near Magadha. As a Buddhist monk Aśvaghosha attained to great eminence by his powers of argument and discussion, and he was given to Ka-ni-t'a (Kanishka perhaps), king of the Yue-ti country, as part of a war indemnity. This king treated the bhikshu with much kindness and esteem,[3] and Aśvaghosha continued his labours in his new place of abode in Kashmir. He was the author of the "Ch'i-hsin-lun" (起信論), the "Ta-chuang-yen-ching-lun" (大莊麗經論) and numerous other treatises. In the Patriarchal succession Aśvaghosha is the next after Puṇyayaśa, and in Japan he is regarded as a teacher of the "Pure Land" doctrine, and is the first patriarch of the Avataṃsaka sūtra sect and the 12th of the "Contemplatist School".[4] We read, however, of several eminent bhikshus with this name, one living so early as the time of the Buddha.[5] These, however, may all be the same man assigned to different dates. He was called "Horse-voice" (Aśvaghosha) because at his birth horses neighed, or because on one occasion when he preached hungry horses forgot to feed, and listened to his sermon neighing with pious delight. There are also other stories told to account for the name which in one treatise is given as *Giu-lo-wei-ni*, perhaps for Ghoravin.[6] Here we have probably the original vernacular sobriquet given to the monk because he held horses (ghora) spell-bound by his lute (vīṇā). This great Buddhist, who apparently lived in the second century of our era, was a poet, musician, scholar, religious contro-

[1] Fu-fa-tsang-yiu-yuan *ch.* 5.

[2] Ma-ming-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1460).

[3] Tsa-pao-tsang-ching *ch.* 7.

[4] B. Nanjio's Short Hist. Twelve Jap. sects pp. 59, 106, 115.

[5] Shih-Mo-ho-yen-lun, or An Exposition of Mahāyānism, *ch.* 1; Mahāmāya-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382); Ch'i-hsin-lun-su-pi-hsiao-chi *ch.* 1 (No. 1626).

[6] The name is written 嚩羅尾儞 in No. 1626.

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versialist and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline.

> We return again to the pilgrim's description. Above 200 *li*, he states, from the south-west angle of the city, were the foundations of an old monastery with a tope. These were on a site which had been used as sitting place and exercise ground by the Four Past Buddhas. The tope had manifestations of divine light and other miracles, and people from far and near came to it and offered up prayers.

In his translation of this passage Julien instead of "200 *li*" has 200 paces, but in all the texts and in the "Fang-chih" the reading is 200 *li*. By using the form of expression "south-west angle of the city" the pilgrim may perhaps have meant to indicate that the direction was exactly south-west, and not merely between south and west. It was not from the south-west corner of the city, as Mr. Fergusson seems to have supposed,[1] but from the Cock-Monastery to the south-east of the city that the pilgrim renewed his journey.

> The pilgrim continuing his narrative tells us that from the old monastery a journey south-west above 100 *li* brought him to the *Ti-lo-shi-ka* monastery. This establishment, erected by the last descendant of king Bimbisāra, had four courts with three-storeyed halls, lofty terraces, and a succession of open passages. It was the rendezvous of eminent scholars who flocked to it from all regions. The Brethren in it, all Mahāyānists, were above 1000 in number. At the head of the road[2], through the middle gate, were three temples (*ching-shê*) with disks on the roofs and hung with small bells; the bases were surrounded by balustrades, and doors, windows, beams, walls, and stairs were ornamented with gilt work in relief. The middle temple had a stone image of the Buddha thirty feet high; the left-hand one had an image of Tāra Bodhisattva; and the right-hand one had an image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva: these three images were

[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. VII. Art. IX.

[2] The common meaning of *tang-tao* (當 道) is "on the road" and this may be its signification here. But as the temples could not have been actually *on* the highway the phrase may mean *at the head of the passage*, that is, at the place where the road to the middle gate began.

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all of bronze (*t'u-shi*). Each of the temples had a pint of relics which occasionally yielded miraculous phenomena.

This is an interesting account, and has to be studied in connection with statements in the Life. This latter treatise makes Yuan-chuang travel south-west from the Cock-Monastery six or seven yojanas (about 50 miles) to the *Ti-lo-li* (var. *Che-)ka* monastery, from which some score of the Brethren came out to welcome him. This is evidently the *Ti-lo-shi-ka* monastery of our text, and Julien writes the name so in his translation of the Life. The difference in the distance may be accounted for by the pilgrim giving the length of his journey, and the Life giving the distance in a straight line. In another passage of the Life we read that when Yuan-chuang, on his way back to China, visited Nālanda for the second time, he learned that three yojanas from it west was a monastery called *Ti-lo-shi-ka*, in which was a learned Buddhist Doctor by name Prajñā-bhadra. Here the reading in Julien's text was *Ti-lo-tse-ka* for which he suggests Tilaṭaka as the original, but the old Sung edition has *Ti-lo-shi-ka*. This monastery is evidently the *Ti-lo-che-ka* of the previous passage in the Life, the learned Doctor having come to reside in it after the pilgrim's first visit to Nālanda. Böhtlingk-Roth suggest Tilāḍhaka as the name of this Buddhist establishment, but the suggestion cannot be adopted. All the texts of the Records have Ti-lo-shi-ka, and the *tse* (擇) of the second passage in the Life is apparently a copyist's error for the *shi* (釋) of the old texts. Then this monastery has been identified with I-ching's *Ti-lo-t'u* and *Ti-lo-ch'a* which probably represent one word like Tiladha.[1] He gives the name to a monastery in Magadha about two yojanas from Nālanda. It was probably in the great Buddhist establishment of Ti-lo-shi-ka that Pārśva and Aśvaghosa had the meeting already mentioned as having

[1] Yuan-chuang writes the name T'i-lo-shi-ka (鞮羅釋迦), the Life has *Ti-lo-lei* or *che-ka* (底羅礫 or 碟迦), and also *Ti-lo-tse* or *shih* (擇 or 釋)-*ka*; I-ching has Ti-lo-*ch'a* or *t'u* (茶 or 荼).

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taken place in Shi-ka. Cunningham by manipulating his texts finds Yuan-chuang's Tilo-shika, which he calls Tiladaka, in the modern Tillāra, and Fergusson places it in the Barabar hills. The full name of the monastery may have been Tira-śaka or as Julien suggests Tila-śākya, its designation among the people being something like Tiladha. It was a large and famous establishment flourishing in the 7th century, between 40 and 50 miles in a south-west direction from the Kukkuṭārama, and about 20 miles to the west of Nālanda. Yuan-chuang tells us that the monastery was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra, but according to the books the last descendant of that king on the throne of Magadha was Pushyamitra, an enemy and persecutor of Buddhism. We note the temple of Buddha flanked by a temple to Tāra on one side, and by a temple to Kuan-yin on the other. Here, as in a subsequent passage where we have another temple of Tāra, that person is simply a Bodhisattva without any indication of sex. This P'usa, "the Saviour", became "Holy Mother Tārā", the spiritual wife of Kuan-yin. She resides at the foot of a mountain in the Southern Ocean, and Kuan-yin sojourns on the top, but it is in Tibet and Mongolia that Tārā is chiefly worshipped.[1]

> Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds. Above 90 *li* southwest from the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery was a lofty mountain. Among its sombre masses of clouds and rocks lodged immortals, poisonous snakes and fierce dragons lurked in the hollows of its marshes, fierce beasts skulked and birds of prey roosted in its thickets. On its top was a flat rock surmounted by a tope above ten feet high. This was on the spot where the Buddha once sat all night in the „Samādhi of the end of extinction". The pious devas had made a tope of precious gold and silver to commemorate the event, but in the long course of time the precious metals had changed to stone. No human mortal had ever visited the tope, but from afar serpents and wild beasts could be seen in compa-

[1] Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai *ch.* 2 (No. 1637); Waddell's 'Buddhism of Tibet', p. 367 ff. See also G. de Blonay's 'Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Déesse Bouddhique Tārā.'

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nies performing pradakshiṇa, and angels and saints giving praise and worship.

The mountain here mentioned was apparently not visited by Yuan-chuang on his way to Gayā but he may have passed near it on some other occasion. We must remember that he spent above five years in this district and visited it again on his return. So the Records here do not give us a consecutive narrative of a journey, but rather the results of excursions and investigations.

Our pilgrim goes on to describe that on the east ridge of this mountain was a tope on the spot on which the Buddha stood to obtain a view of Magadha. He then goes on to relate that above 30 *li* to the north-west of the mountain, on the slope of a mountain, was a monastery the high bases of which were backed by the ridge, the high chambers being hewn out of the cliff. In this monastery there were fifty Brethren, all adherents of the "Great Vehicle". It had been built in honour of Guṇamati Bodhisattva who here vanquished in discussion the great Sāṅkhya Doctor Mādhava. The pilgrim adds an account of the discussion and of the results of Mādhava's defeat.

The story of the controversy here related by Yuan-chuang was apparently derived from an unscrupulous Buddhist of Magadha. It does not agree with Yuan-chuang's statement that the site of the mountain monastery was the scene of the discussion, and it need not be taken seriously. The Guṇamati of our author cannot be the āchārya of the same name who was the teacher of Vasumitra and wrote a commentary on the "Abhidharmakośa". Nor can he be the Guṇamati of Tāranātha, contemporary with king Pantshama-siṁha, and beaten in discussion by a disciple of the philosopher against whom he had written a treatise.[1] I-ching mentions a distinguished Buddhist named Guṇamati as having lived in a time not remote from his own period, but this sage was devoted to dhyāna.[2] Our pilgrim styles his Guṇamati a Bodhisattwa, and describes him as coming from "South India"; he also asso-

[1] Tār. S. 159.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 34; and Takakusu, 'I-tsing', p. LVIII ff. and p. 181.

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ciates him with Sthiramati; and represents the two as being distinguished in Nālanda for the elegance of their compositions, and as having sojourned and written in Valabhi in South India.[1] It may have been this Guṇamati who composed the treatise with the name, as rendered in Chinese, "Sui-hsiang-lun" (隨相論). This work, translated by Paramārtha about A. D. 560, is apparently only an extract from a large treatise with this name. B. Nanjio retranslates the title by "Lakshaṇānusāra śāstra", but the original name may have been something very different. This treatise cites the Vibhāshā and Sūtra-Upadeśa Masters, Vasubandhu, Bavarika (?), and others, and it shews an intimate acquaintance with the Sāṅkhya teachings[2]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that above 20 *li* south-west from the Guṇamati Monastery was an isolated hill, with a monastery said to have been built by the Śāstra-Master Śīlabhadra, who made a religious offering of the city which he had obtained on his victory in a discussion; taking advantage of the resemblance of the steep peak to a tope, Śīlabhadra had deposited in the peak Buddha-relics. Then we have the story of this monastery to the following effect. Śīlabhadra was a scion of the Brahminical royal family of Samataṭa (in East India); as a young man he was fond of learning and of exemplary principles. He travelled through India seeking the wise, and in Nālanda he met Dharmapāla P'usa who gave him instruction, and in due time ordained him as a bhikshu. Then Śīlabhadra rose to be eminent for his profound comprehension of the principles and subtleties of Buddhism, and his fame extended to foreign countries. A learned but proud and envious brahmin of South India came to Magadha to have a discussion with Dharmapāla. Śīlabhadra, at the time the most eminent of the disciples of Dharmapāla, although only thirty years of age, proposed to meet the brahmin in controversy, and the offer was accepted. At the discussion the brahmin was utterly defeated, and the king to mark his appreciation of the victor's success wished to endow him with the revenues of a certain city. But Śīlabhadra declined the gift saying— "The scholar with dyed garments is satisfied with the requisites of his Order; leading a life of purity and continence what has he to do with a city?" The king, however, urges him

[1] *chuan* 9 and 11.

[2] Sui-hsiang-lun (No. 1280).

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to accept the reward— "The prince of religion has vanished" he says, "and the boat of wisdom has foundered; without public recognition there is nothing to stimulate disciples: for the advancement of Buddhism be graciously pleased to accept my offer". Then Śīlabhadra, unable to have his own way, accepted the city, and built the monastery. Carrying out the rule of right to the end, he offered up [the revenue from] the inhabitants of the city for the proper maintenance of the establishment.

Although the context of this passage seems to require us to regard Yuan-chuang as having actually gone to the Śīlabhadra monastery yet we need not suppose him to have visited either it or the Guṇamati Monastery on his way from Pāṭaliputra to Gayā. In the translation here given the words "Carrying out the rule of right to the end" are for the Chinese *Ch'iung-chu-kuei-kü* (窮諸規矩), "carrying out right procedure thoroughly". Julien makes these words apply to the monastery and translates them by "vaste et magnifique", a rendering which seems inadmissible. In the description of the Deer Wood Monastery in the previous *chuan* there is a similar expression-*li*(摩-) *ch'iung-kuei-chü*, which is used of the monastery, and means "perfectly artistic in ornamentation" (in Julien's rendering "d'une admirable construction.") But here we must take *ch'iung-chu-kuei-chü* as applying to Śīlabhadra. As a Buddhist bhikshu he could not receive such a gift as the revenue of a city for himself. At the king's urgent request, and for the good of the Church, he accepts the gift, but extremely punctilious in keeping the rules of his Order, he gives up the revenue as an offering to the Church. Then Julien understood the text of our passage to mean that Śīlabhadra gave the inhabitants of his city as slaves to his monastery. But this is not the meaning of the author, who does not distinguish between *city* and *city*-householders, and by each term means the revenue derived from the city.

From the Śīlabhadra Monastery the pilgrim travelled 40 or 50 *li* south-west, crossed the Nairañjanā River and came to Gayā. This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were only above 1000 brahmin families, descendants of the original

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(or according to some texts, great) rishi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence. Above 30 *li* to the north of the city was a clear spring, the water of which was regarded as sacred and purifying. Five or six *li* to the south-west of the city was the Gayā Mountain with dark gorges and inaccessible cliffs, called by Indians "Spiritual Mountain". From ancient times sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples, and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone tope above 100 feet high built by Asoka at the place where Buddha uttered the "Pao-Yun" and other sūtras.

The city Gayā of this passage was supposed to have received its name from the great rishi named Gaya.[1] But in some of the Chinese translations the name is translated by "Elephant", as if for Gaja, and in some we find it so transcribed. The Gayā mountain also is called "Elephant-Head", the original being *Gayā-śiras*.[2] The "Pao-yun-ching" mentioned here is the "Ratnamegha-sūtra" which professes to have been communicated on the top of Gayā mountain to an immense congregation of disciples and superhuman beings. It is a Mahāyāna sūtra, and there are two translations of it in Chinese.[3]

The pilgrim proceeds to tell that south-east from the Gayā Mountain was a tope at the native city of Kāśyapa, and that to south of it were two topes at the places where Gayā Kāśyapa and Nadī Kāśyapa "served fire".

The three men here mentioned were brothers, the eldest, called in this passage simply Kāśyapa, being generally distinguished as Uruvilva Kāśyapa from the name of the place at which they lived. These brothers were great scholars and magicians, they were worshippers of the element of fire, and they had numerous disciples. Their home was at the town of Uruvilva on the Nairañjana

[1] Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 6.

[2] Chêng-fa-hua-ching *ch.* 1; Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 24. But the mountain called Gayāśiras is placed by some in a different part of the district.

[3] See Nos. 151. 152 in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue.

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(Phalgu) river, the youngest living a little down the stream. The story of their conversion is told in several of the Buddhist books and our author refers to it a little farther on.

> Eastward from the place where Gayā Kāśyapa served fire, the narrative proceeds, on the other side of a great river was the Prāg-bodhi mountain. When Ju-lai, the pilgrim explains, had been six years striving for bodhi without obtaining it, he renounced austerities, and accepted milk-gruel. Then coming from the north-east, and seeing this mountain, he liked its solitude, and wanted to attain bodhi on it. Going up by the north-east ridge he reached the summit, an earthquake then occurred, and the oread told him that the mountain could not be used for the attainment of bodhi. The P'usa then went on down by the south-west side, and came to a cave in a cliff. In this he sat down intending to go into samādhi, when again the earth quaked and the mountain shook. Heavenly devas then called out to him— "This is not the place for the Ju-lai to attain bodhi: fourteen or fifteen *li* south-west from this, not far from the scene of your austerities, there is a peepul tree with an adamant (*chin-kang*) seat, and there the past and future Buddhas all attain bodhi, please go there". The P'usa rose to go, but at the request of the Dragon of the cave he left his shadow there. Going on, preceded by the devas, he reached the Bodhi Tree. In after times king Asoka marked the various places in the P'usa' sascent and descent of the mountain by various kinds of monuments. All these present miracles, such as showers of aerial flowers and lights in the gorges; and every year. when the period of Retreat is over, stranger Brethren and laymen ascend to make offerings.

The account here given of the Pre-bodhi (Prāgbodhi) mountain, and the P'usa's experiences on it, was probably derived from local legend. Our pilgrim evidently did not visit the mountain on his way from Pāṭaliputra to the Bodhi Tree. According to the Life he proceeded from the Tilacheka (Tiloshika) monastery southwards, and after a journey of above 100 *li* arrived at the Bodhi Tree; but this statement probably means no more than that from the monastery to the Tree was above 100 *li* in a straight line south. Yuan-chuang apparently went first to the city of Gayā, thence to the Gayā mountain, and from that eastwards to the Tree. So also Fa-hsien went from Gayā

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to the Bodhi Tree, but it is not easy to learn from his narrative the exact position of the Tree. Prāg-bodhi is evidently a Buddhist name of late origin, but the mountain is apparently the "isolated hill" of the Sarvata Vinaya. This work represents the P'usa as going to this hill with the intention of realising on it perfect enlightenment (bodhi); but the devas, as in Yuan-chuang's story, explained to him that the convulsions which had occurred indicated that this was not the proper place, and told him whither he should go.[1]

> The pilgrim next goes on to tell us that a journey of 14 or 15 *li* south-west from the Prāgbodhi Hill brought one to the Bodhi Tree. The enclosing walls, he relates, are built of brick, high and strong; the inclosure is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south, and it is above 500 paces in circuit. Rare trees and noted flowers make continuous shade; fine grass and strange plants climb over and cover everything. The principal gate opens east towards the Nairañjana River, the south gate is connected with a large flower-tank, the west limit is a natural defence, and the north gate communicates with the grounds inside the walls of a large monastery. The sacred traces are very close together; topes or shrines (*ching-shê*) have been raised, as memorials, by sovereigns, high officials, or nobles of India who were pious Buddhists.

Although the text of this passage seems to state that the pilgrim actually visited the Prāgbodhi Hill, and from it went on to the Bodhi Tree, yet it is better to take the words in a general sense. Yuan-chuang may have made the journey, following the P'usa's footsteps, during his stay in the district. The reader will observe that the great or outer inclosure of the Bodhi Tree is a wall with a gate on three sides, but on the west side there is a natural defence. This agrees with other accounts, and the Burmese tradition is thus given by Bigandet— "To consecrate, as it were, and perpetuate the remembrance of the seven spots occupied by Buddha during the forty-nine days that he spent round the tree Bodi, a Dzady was erected on

[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 5.

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each of these seven places. King Pathanadi Kosala surrounded them with a double wall, and subsequently king Dammathoka added two others. There were only three openings or gates to penetrate into the enclosed ground, one on the north, another on the east, and the third on the south".[1]

Julien's translation here makes the pilgrim describe the enclosing wall as having a gate on the west side: this is probably due to his text having the *O* (尼) of the B edition instead of the *O* (阨) of the other editions. The former character is sometimes used in the sense of a *door*, and the latter character means a *barrier* or *obstruction*. The "fine grass" of this passage is *hsi-so* (細 沙), the reading of the B text, but C and D have "fine sand". Then instead of the *yuan* (緣) "to climb", of the B and old Chinese texts, C and D have *lü* (綠) "green". Thus the D text makes the pilgrim state that "fine sand and strange vegetation cover all with a green mantle". The reading "fine sand" does not seem to suit the passage, but it is apparently in agreement with the account of the Vajra-seat in the next paragraph. There that sacred spot is described as being covered with sand earth. In this passage "India" is for the *Chan-pu-chou* or Jambudvīpa of the original, and the pilgrim may have used this term in a comprehensive way including India and the adjacent countries. As the space enclosed within the walls of the sacred place of the Bodhi Tree was not great, the topes and shrines erected as memorial structures must have been of small dimensions.

Proceeding with his description the pilgrim relates that in the centre of the Bodhi Tree Inclosure is the "Adamant (Vajra, in Chinese *Chin-kang*) Seat" which came into existence at the beginning of the Bhadra Kalpa together with the world; it is in the middle of the Three Thousand Great Chiliocosm, reaches from the surface of the earth down to the Gold Wheel, is made of adamant (*chin-kang* or vajra) and is above 100 paces in circuit. The name is derived from the fact that here the 1000 Buddhas

[1] Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 107.

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of this kalpa go into the Vajra-samādhi; and as they attain bodhi at this spot it is also called the "Bodhi-Arena" (*Tao-ch'ang*, that is Bodhi-maṇḍala or Bodhi-maṇḍa). This spot is undisturbed by cosmic convulsions; but since the decline of Buddhism in latter times it cannot be seen on account of the sand with which it has become covered. After the decease of the Buddha princes set up sitting images of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Kuantszŭ-tsai-P'usa) facing east at the north and south boundaries according to Buddha's description. Tradition said that when these images sink out of sight Buddhism will come to an end; the image at the south corner had already disappeared up to the breast. The Bodhi Tree at the Adamant-Seat is a peepul which in the Buddha's time was some hundreds of feet high, and although it had been cut down several times it remains forty or fifty feet high. This tree, the *P'usa shu* (or Bodhisattva Tree) is an evergreen, but every year on the day of the Buddha's decease it sheds its leaves, which are instantly replaced. On this day princes, Buddhist Brethren, and laymen, come of their own accord in myriads to the Tree, and bathe it with scented water and milk to the accompaniment of music, flowers are offered at the time and lights are kept continually burning. The pilgrim next relates the stories of Asoka and his queen, in succession, making determined efforts to destroy the Bodhi Tree, the attempts being in each case frustrated. When the Tree grew again, after the queen had caused it to be felled, Asoka surrounded it with a stone wall above ten feet high which was apparently still in existence. In recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Pūrṇavarma, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became above ten feet high. This king then built round it a stone wall 24 feet high, and so the Bodhi Tree is now 20 (in D text, ten) feet above its protecting wall.

According to the Life the *Chin-kang-tso* or Vajrāsana was so called because it was made of adamant (vajra), an indestructible substance which could destroy everything. The two images of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa here mentioned apparently did not exist at the time of Fa-hsien's visit, and they are not in other treatises. Asoka's stone wall round the Bodhi Tree is apparently the wall which Fa-hsien says was made of brick. Then Fa-hsien tells of a tope here, and the Asokāvadāna mentions the building of

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one at the spot by Asoka: the tope at the Bodhi Tree, moreover, was one of the Eight Great Topes, and was visited by pilgrims. So it is strange that Yuan-chuang does not make any reference to a tope at the place where the P'usa attained Buddhahood.

The description in our text proceeds to tell us that to the east of the Bodhi Tree was a temple (*ching-shê*) above 160 feet high, and with a front breadth at the base of above twenty paces. This temple was made of bricks and coated with lime; it had tiers of niches with gold images; its four walls were adorned with exquisite carvings of pearl-strings and genii; on the roof was a gilt copper āmalaka; connected with the east side of the temple were three lofty halls one behind another; the woodwork of these halls was adorned with gold and silver carvings and studded with precious stones of various colours, and an open passage through them communicated with the inner chamber. On the left-hand side of the outside door of these halls was an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa, and on the right one of Tzŭ-shi (Maitreya) P'usa, each made of silver and above ten feet high. On the site of the Temple there had once stood a small chaitya (or temple) built by Asoka. The present Temple had been built by a brahmin acting on advice given to him by Śiva in the Snow Mountains, and the neighbouring tank had been built by the brahmin's brother also according to Śiva's advice. The pilgrim goes on to tell the wonderful story of the image of Buddha made by Maitreya in the disguise of a brahmin. This artist asked only for scented clay, and a lamp, and to be left alone in the Temple for six months. When this time was up except four days (not four months as in some texts), the people became curious, and opened the door to see. They found the beautiful likeness complete except for one little piece above the right breast, but the artist had disappeared. The image he had made represented the Buddha as he sat under the Bodhi Tree in the act of pointing to the earth and telling Māra that the earth would bear him witness. The pilgrim in continuation relates the abortive attempt of king Śaśāṅka to have the image removed and replaced by one of Śiva. He adds that Ju-lai attained supreme bodhi on the 8th (or according to the Sthavira school the 15th) day of the second half of the month Vaiśākha, being then 30 (or according to some 35) years of age.

The temple or chaitya here described as being on the east side of the Bodhi Tree was apparently within the large inclosure. It was approached through a succession

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of three halls or pavilions, on the east side, and it was only through these that light reached the innermost shrine. In the "Fang-chih" the base of the temple has a continuous stone railing ten feet high all round. This Temple is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and from our pilgrim's description we must infer that the whole was a comparatively recent structure. Cunningham regards the present "Mahābodhi Temple" as the building described by our pilgrim, and gives his reasons.[1] But these, as usual, do not agree with the Chinese texts, and are not convincing. Thus he says that the present Temple is 48 feet square at its base, and so agrees with Yuan-chuang's statement; but the latter is to the effect that on one side the base measured above 20 paces, and nothing is said about the dimensions of the other sides. Then Yuan-chuang says that the building was made of bricks and coated with lime, the term for "bricks" being *ch'ing-chuan* (青甎). Beal translates this by "blue bricks" and Cunningham finds the present Temple made of bluish bricks. But *ch'ing-chuan* denotes simply common dull-coloured bricks, and it was evidently of such bricks the Temple was made, otherwise there would not have been a coating of plaster. The "Fang-chih" here, however, has merely *ch'ing-chuan* without any mention of a lime coating. Further the four faces of Cunningham's Temple have several tiers of niches for images, but Yuan-chuang does not say that the tiers of niches were on all sides of the brahmin's temple. Then Cunningham finds that the entrance to the east side of "Mahābodhi Temple" was certainly an addition to the original building, and he thinks this agrees with Yuan-chuang as translated by Cunningham from Julien— "Afterwards on the eastern side there was added a pavilion." The Chinese text, however, has nothing corresponding to "afterwards" and Julien's "on a construit, à la suite" was perhaps used in the sense of "there was built in continuation", which would give Yuan-chuang's meaning. Moreover

[1] Mahābodhi, Preface and Historical Notices.

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there does not seem to be any authority whatever for Cunningham's title for his book, and for his statement that certain ruins were called "Mahābodhi Temple". This name is not found in any one of the texts Chinese, Burmese, or Indian, that he cites in support of his allegation. The Burmese inscription which he quotes is concerned with the "Páyatha-bhat (Pāyāsa-bhatta) the temple at the spot where Siddhārtha ate the "rice-milk" or milk-gruel. This, we are told, was near the "Maha Baudhi Paribauga Zedi (Mahābodhiparibhogacetiya) the consecrated shrine of the Mahābodhi [tree].[1] It could not be the Tsaokuṭa Temple of Yuan-chuang which was on a different site. Yuan-chuang does not give any name to this temple, and it is not mentioned in the Life. That work and I-ching's treatises mention the Mahābodhi-*ssĭ* or vihāra to be noticed presently. It was in this vihāra or monastery that the pilgrims Hsüan-chao, I-ching, and Chĭ-hung saw the beautiful image of Buddha— his "true likeness"— which I-ching also says was made by Maitreya. Among the Chinese texts cited by Cunningham is an inscription found in the Bodhi Tree district and dated in the cyclic year which corresponds to A. D. 1022. This inscription, the original text of which will be found in the Journal of the R. A. S. Vol. XIII. p. 556, was made by a pilgrim named K'o-yun. It contains verses which that pilgrim composed on the "true likeness" that is, the Maitreya-made image of Buddha but it does not contain anything corresponding to "Mahābodhi Temple". The characters are not distinct, but the pilgrim's first ode seems to run thus— "The great Hero Maitreya (tzŭ-shĭ) in compassion to all creatures left them the real: although there is no oracular utterance (無宣泄) yet there is the Deity; it (i. e. the image) is respected by the heterodox and loved by the discerning: although 2000 years old its face remains new". K'o-yun's next ode praises the separate parts of this image, its thirty two superior marks,

[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 161 ff.

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the ushṇīsha, the ūrṇā, the hands and the robed body. This pilgrim's verses were apparently cut in the stone slab which he set up above 30 paces to the north of the Bodhi Tree, and thus near the Mahābodhi vihāra, in which he was probably lodging. The kasha robe which his two companions brought is represented as having been put on "the Buddha-seat of Mahābodhi". It is possible that the beautiful image made by Maitreya may have been transferred to the great monastery. Yuan-chuang does not seem to have actually seen this image, and all his information about it seems to have been obtained from others. He gives us to understand, indeed, that the image was not to be seen by all visitors. As the brahmin Temple was made by a Śaivite brahmin for his own worldly advancement it may have been neglected and allowed to fall into decay. It does not seem to be impossible, however, that it may be the present old ruins which Cunningham calls the "Mahābodhi Temple". The reader will remember that the Tibetans tell of a *Dri-gtsan-k'an*, that is, a gandhakūṭa or temple to Buddha at the Bodhi-maṇḍa. In this temple, which was originally nine storeys high, was an image of Buddha which had a curious history. The temple was built by a converted young brahmin named Dge-ba, that is Kalyāṇa, "the virtuous" or "auspicious", the youngest of three brothers. The making of the image was undertaken for him by divine artists, and they required seven days within which to finish the work. But on the sixth day the mother of Kalyāṇa insisted on seeing the image to console her in death. It was shewn to her as it stood unfinished, but the artists disappeared and the image remained incomplete. Here Tāranātha seems to represent the Mahābodhi as being within this temple of Kalyāṇa.[1]

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the north of the Bodhi Tree was the place of Buddha's walking up and down. Julai, he states, on the attainment of bodhi remained motionless under the Tree for seven days. Then he rose, and going to the north

[1] Tār. 18ff., 242, 256.

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of the Tree he walked up and down, east and west, for seven days. There were eighteen strange ornaments for the footsteps in the ten paces of his walking: here men of after times made a base of bricks above three feet high. Yuan-chuang adds that he learned from local records that this base for the sacred footprints indicated the duration of a person's life, its length being greater or less to a devotee according to the years of his life.

This interpretation of our author differs from the rendering given by Julien who seems to take liberties with his text here. The words *hsing-shi-yü-pu* (行十餘步) "going above ten paces", cannot be rendered "sur un espace d'environ dix pas", but belong to the words which follow. These are in Julien's translation— "Des fleurs extraordinaires, au nombre de dix-huit, surgirent sur ses traces". But there is nothing in the text for *surgirent* and *wên* (文) is not a classifier of *flowers*. *Hua-wên* is an ornamental tracing or figure and there were eighteen such figures, one for each of Buddha's footprints for the ten paces. Then Julien adds— "Dans la suite, on couvrit cet endroit d'un massif en briques de trois pieds de hauteur". The text for this is Hou-jen-yü-tzŭ-lei-chuan-wei-chi-kao-yü-san-chih (後人于此壘甎爲基高餘三尺) that is, "later men here raised a brick base above three feet high". The *chi* or "base" was the wall which fronted and protected the actual walk, the latter being at Yuan-chuang's time probably made of chunam. In the next sentence Julien has— "Le massif en brique, posé sur les vestiges du Saint" for "*t'zŭ-shêng-chih-chi*, that is, "this base for the sacred footprints". The Buddha's Walk of our pilgrim corresponds to the Ratanacaṅkamacetiya or Jewel-walk chaitya of the "Jātaka", which was between the Bodhi Tree and the Animisacetiya, and so to the north-east of the Tree.[1] Fa-hsien tells of a tope (that is, Chaitya) at the spot where Buddha walked east and west under the Pei-to (i. e. Bodhi) Tree for seven days, but he does not mention an artificial raised and covered passage.[2] With

[1] Jāt. Vol. I. p. 77.

[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31.

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him, as with the Pali writers, the Walk is evidently only a *place* (ṭhāna or *ch'ü*) marked by a chaitya. Cunningham devotes ch. III. of his "Mahābodhi" to this "Buddha Walk" which, he says, "still exists close to the north side of the Temple" and is "a simple brick wall 53 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and a little more than 3 feet in height".

> The pilgrim's narrative continues— North of the Walk, and on a flat rock to the left (according to the D text, the right) of the road, was a large chaitya (*ching-shê*). In this was an image of the Buddha gazing with uplifted eyes. The explanation Yuan-chuang gives is that here Ju-lai for seven days contemplated the Bodhi Tree without moving his eyes gazing at it in gratitude.

The chaitya here mentioned is the Animisacetiya of the "Jātaka",[1] and the Animiṣalochana-chaitya of other books,[2] the Pu-shun-mu-t'a (不瞬目塔) or "Tope of unwinking eyes" of Chinese translation.[3] This was the second of the Seven Places at which Buddha remained seven days on attaining bodhi, the place where, according to Fa-hsien, he "beholding the Tree experienced the joy of emancipation."

> Our pilgrim goes on to tell that near the Bodhi Tree, on the west side, was a large temple containing a bronze (*t'u-si*) standing image of the Buddha adorned with precious stones. This image faced east, and in front of it was a dark-blue stone beautifully ornamented. The temple represented the Hall of the seven precious substances made by Brahmā for Buddha on his attainment of bodhi, and the stone was the seat of similar substances presented by Sakka on the same occasion. Here Buddha remained for seven days, absorbed in meditation, and lit up the Bodhi Tree with light emitted from his body. In the long lapse of time, however, the precious substances had changed into stone.

The Temple here described represents the fourth of the Seven Places, and is the Ratanaghara cetiya or "Jewel-house chaitya" (the Yatanagara of the Burmese). It was built by the devas according to some authorities, and was

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[1] Jāt. l. c.

[2] Spence Hardy's 'Manual', p. 185; Lalitavistara *ch.* XXIV.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 31.

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to the north-west (or south-west) of the Bodhi Tree. This Ratanaghara, or "House of the seven precious substances" as Fa-hsien calls it, was used by the Buddha for seven of the 49 days he spent near the Bodhi Tree. In it he meditated on the way of salvation he had thought out, and on the doctrines in which it was to be embodied for future teaching.[1]

> Continuing his narrative Yuan-chuang relates that not far from the Bodhi Tree, on the south, was an Asoka tope above 100 feet high at the spot where the P'usa on his way to the Bodhi Tree got grass for a seat from Indra disguised as a grass-cutter. Near this, he adds, on the north-east side was a tope where the "dark-coloured birds" in flocks gave the P'usa as he was going to the Tree a happy omen.

The story of the P'usa obtaining kuśa grass for a seat as he was approaching the Peepul Tree under which he was to become Buddha is well known. In some treatises Indra, changed into a grass-cutter for the occasion, supplies the grass,[2] and in some the P'usa obtains it from a deva, or a brahmin, or a peasant.[3] The name of the grass-cutter is given as Santi or Svastika, and the grass is also called by the latter name. This word is rendered in Chinese by *Chi-hsiang* (吉祥) or *Chi-li* (吉利), the two terms having the same meaning of lucky or *auspicious*.[4] For the "dark-coloured birds" of this passage the Chinese is *ch'ing-chio* (青雀) which Julien translates „des passereaux bleus". But in old Chinese literature this name denoted a water-bird, apparently of a dark green colour, which was painted on flags as a signal. In popular literature, however, *ch'ing-chio* is another name for the *Sang-hu* (桑鳸) which is a *finch*. Now in the "Hsing-chi-ching" and

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[1] This Hall which is mentioned in the Introduction to the Jātaka, (Vol. I. p. 78), and in other works, is not mentioned in the Lalita-vistara or the Hsing-chi-ching, or the Pali Vinaya.

[2] Rockhill, 'Life', p. 31; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26. Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3.

[3] Rgya Tcher Rol pa p. 273; Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 664).

[4] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31.

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other sūtras *ch'ing-chio* is evidently used to translate the śukaśārikā of the Lalitavistara.[1] Śukaśārikā is rendered "parrots and mainahs (or jays)", but the Indian teachers of the Chinese evidently regarded the term as a compound denoting a bird which partook of the characters of the parrot and the mainah, and to them the śukaśārikā were birds of one kind and like the finches of China. This was perhaps the sense in which the pilgrims use the term *ch'ing-chio*. Fa-hsien, in accordance with some scriptures, gives the number of the "Dark birds" as 500.[2] The Chinese for "in flocks" here is *ch'ün-lu* (群鹿) literally "flocks deer", and Julien translates "une troupe de cerfs", but the term means "changing groups". The birds as they flew made one set of flocks, and then broke off and formed themselves into other groups. It is evident that Yuan-chuang understood these birds to be disguised devas escorting the P'usa to the Bodhi Tree, and the context shews that he did not think of other creatures joining in the escort. So also some accounts of the incident mention only the convoy of birds, but others have in addition elephants, horses, oxen, and boys and girls with other objects.[3] The deer is not an animal of good omen in India, and the sight of "une troupe de cerfs" would not have been cheering to the P'usa.

Yuan-chuang, proceeding with his enumeration, states that on the east of the Bodhi Tree were two topes, one on the right, and one on the left of the highway. It was here, he says, that Māra tempted the P'usa as the latter was about to become Buddha. Māra advised the P'usa to become a supreme sovereign, and when his advice was not taken he went back greatly chagrined. His daughters with his permission went to seduce the P'usa, but

[1] Lal. *ch.* XIX. In the "Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching" *ch.* 8 we find parrots and mainahs where the other treatises have *ch'ing-chio*. Rājendralāla Mitra thought that the *ch'ing-chio* of our passage were "the blue-necked jays which are held by the Hindus to be very auspicious if seen when starting on a journey" (Buddha Gayā, p. 32, and see p. 53 note.)

[2] T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 2.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26.

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by the mysterious influence of the latter, their fascinating bodies were changed, and they went away, lean and decrepit, in each other's arms.

Māra's exhortation to the P'usa referred to in this passage was the beginning of the Evil One's attempts to prevent the P'usa from attaining Buddhahood. In the Introduction to the Jātaka Māra is represented as announcing universal sovereignty to the Prince Siddhārtha when the latter is leaving Kapilavastu to become an ascetic."[1] Other treatises, such as the "Buddha-charita", the "Yin-kuo-ching", the "Hsing-chi-ching", make Māra appear to the P'usa under the Bodhi Tree, and solemnly counsel him to leave that spot, and go to do his duty as a Kshatriya by becoming a Chakravartī ruling over the four divisions of the world, and Lord of earth.[2] Māra's daughters are three in number, Rati, Arati, and Tṛiṣṇā (or Ragā, Arati, Taṇhā), and they in the legends have recourse to various artifices in the design of seducing the P'usa.[3] In some accounts, however, they do not take action until the defeat of their father and all his forces, and they are sometimes represented as flying away from their attempt on the P'usa, or as retiring with his pardon.

The next object mentioned by our pilgrim is the temple (or Chaitya) of Kāśyapa Buddha, which was to the north-west of the Bodhi Tree. In this temple, he tells us, was an image of that Buddha which was reputed to be of efficacious sanctity: believing devotees by making seven circumambulations obtained a knowledge of their previous existences. To the north-west of this temple were two brick houses each with an image (or a picture) of an Earth-god. Of these two gods one had told the P'usa of the approach of Māra, and the other had come forth as witness for the P'usa in his struggle with the Evil One.

For this account of the two brick houses to the Earth-gods Julien had a defective text, and he did not use all

[1] Vol. I. p. 63.

[2] Bud. Char. B. XIII; Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 28.

[3] For the attempts of Māra and his daughters to prevent Prince Siddhārtha from attaining Bodhi see Windisch's 'Māra u. Buddha'.

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he had. He translates— "Jadis, lorsque *Jou-lai* était sur le point d'obtenir l'intelligence accomplie, l'un des esprits de la terre servit de temoin au *Bouddha*". The reading in the A, C, and D texts after "Formerly when Ju-lai was about to become Buddha" is *i-pao-Mo-chih-i-wei-Fo-chêng* (一報魔至一爲佛證), "one announced the arrival of Māra, one became Buddha's witness". By some mistake the Ming texts leave out the *i-pao*, "one announced" and Julien, equal to the occasion, leaves out "the arrival of Māra".[1]

> Our pilgrim's description next tells of a tope near the west (D) or north-west of the Bodhi Tree inclosure. It was above 40 feet high and was called the Saffron Tope. The head of a trading company from Tsaokuṭa had with his fellows been miraculously preserved at sea by the interference of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. On his return to his native land the merchant built a tope which he coated with saffron-scented plaster. Then he and his companions made a pilgrimage to the Bodhi Tree, and while they were at this place, the Saffron Tope suddenly appeared before them.

This Saffron Tope seems to be known only from Yuan-chuang's mention of it here. As a work of private religious merit, like the brahmin's temple, it was probably allowed to fall into decay and ruin.

> The pilgrim next relates that at the south-east corner of the Bodhi Tree inclosure was a banyan tree beside which were a tope and a temple. The latter contained a sitting image of the Buddha, and was on the spot where Brahmā besought Buddha, on his attainment of bodhi, to begin the preaching of his religion.

The incident here referred to is related in several treatises. The Buddha was despairing of being able to teach his way of salvation, when Brahmā came down from Heaven and urged him to preach his religion among men.[2] According to the Pali accounts the visit of Brahmā to

[1] In the account of the image in the brahmin's temple, it will be remembered, Buddha is pointing to the earth. It is the "second Earth-God" who comes forth and bears witness for the Buddha.

[2] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 33; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 35; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31.

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Buddha took place while the latter was staying at the Ajapāla tree.[1]

> At each of the four corners of the Bodhi Tree inclosure, the pilgrim continues, was a large tope. These four topes marked the places, on the verge of the Vajra-seat, where on the P'usa's arrival earthquakes occurred, these disturbances ceasing when he found the Vajrāsana. Within this inclosure, the pilgrim adds, the sacred memorials were crowded together, and it would be impossible to enumerate them. He goes on to describe that a tope to the south-west of the Bodhi Tree inclosure marked the home of the two cowherd maidens who presented the P'usa with milk-gruel, and near it were two other topes also connected with this incident.

In this passage, as before in *chuan* VII., Yuan-chuang applies the term *mu-nü* (牧女) or "cowherd-girls" to the maidens who gave the P'usa rich boiled milk and rice when he gave up extreme fasting and returned to his daily meal. There is one Chinese sūtra in which we find the person who gave the milk-gruel described as a „cowherd woman", *mu-niu-nü-jen* (牧牛女人) named Nandabalā.[2] This woman lived outside a village on the Nairañjana river, and the gruel was a miraculous creation found on the leaves of a lotus. But other texts Pali and Sanskrit, with the Tibetan and Chinese translations, describe the gruel as presented by a young lady, or by two sisters, whose father was the chief or the rishi of his village. In some versions of the legend the one lady is Sujātā, the *Shan-shêng* or "Well-born"— "Eugénie" of the Chinese translations. Her father is Nandika,[3] or he is Senāpati (or Sena or Senāni),[4] or he is simply "the head of the village" (grāmika).[5] Other versions describe the offering as being

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[1] Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 112; Maj. Nik Vol. I. p. 168 (P. T. S.).

[2] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3. In the Sar. Vin. Ch'u-chia-shih *ch.* 2 the expression "two cowherd girls" is applied to Nandā and Nandabalā, but on the same page these girls are daughters of the chief Senāyana.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 24; Rgya Tcher. p. 258 ff.

[4] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching *ch.* 7. Jāt. Vol. I. p. 68.

[5] Mahāvāstu T. II. p. 263.

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made by the two sisters Nandā and Balā (or Nandabalā), their father also being called Nandika or Senāpati.[1] In some texts we find two gifts of milk, one by Sujātā the daughter of Nandika at an early period of Siddhartha's course of asceticism, and one by Nandā and Balā, daughters of Senāni, when his mortifications are over. In all versions the place of the milk-gruel offering is the neighbourhood of Uruvilvā near the Nairañjana river.[2]

> The pilgrim proceeds with his description. Outside of the south gate of the Bodhi Tree, or the Bodhi Tree inclosure (D), was a large tank, above 700 paces in circuit, of pure clear water, the home of dragons and fish. This was the tank made by the younger brother of the brahmin who built the beautiful temple already described.
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> To the south of this tank, the pilgrim continues, was another. When Buddha had attained samyak sambodhi he wanted to wash his clothes, and Indra created this tank for him. On its west side was a large rock: when Buddha had washed his garments he wanted to have them dried, and Indra brought him this rock from the Snow Mountains. Beside this was a tope where Julai put on the old clothes, and south from it, in a wood, was a tope at the place where he received the poor granny's offering of old clothes.

The tank, rock, and two topes of this passage were all associated in the pilgrim's mind with one story, and Julien has somewhat spoiled the description by translating *huan-cho* (浣濯) by "se baigner". The words, as the context shews, mean "wash his garments". All the four objects here mentioned preserved the memory of the following legend. Sometime before Siddhārtha became Buddha an old woman of the Uruvilva district was left out to die in the wood near the Bodhi Tree. While here she gave her

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[1] Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 2, where the father of the two girls is the Sena rishi; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 5, the two girls are daughters of Senāpati; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 30 and note.

[2] The Ssŭ-fên-lü does not make mention of any giving of milk by a young girl; it describes the P'usa as getting food from a brahmin of Uruvilvā and afterwards from Sujātā the wife of the brahmin. In Hardy's authorities (M. B. p. 170) also Sujātā, who gives the milk-gruel, is a married lady.

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poor ragged garment to the P'usa, and when he became Buddha he wished to wear it. But as it was dirty he wanted to wash it before putting it on, and Indra, knowing his desire, produced a river (or tank) near the Bodhi Tree. Having washed the garment, Buddha wanted a rock on which to dry it, and Indra produced the rock.[1] Other versions of the legend represent Buddha as picking up the dirty garment in a cemetery, and, when he wanted to wash it before putting it on, a deva produced a tank, and Indra a rock.[2] Some accounts describe Indra as producing the tank by pointing to the ground, and so it was called "Pointing-to-earth-Tank (chǐ-ti-chǐ 指地池).[3] In the "Lalitavistara" it is called Pāṇihata or "Hand-struck" because a deva produced it by striking the ground. The garment which Buddha washed in Indra's tank is often called a "dirt-heap garment", and in the "Lalitavistara" it is a pāṇḍudukūla or yellow robe, the burial-dress of the slave girl which Buddha took from the dead body to wear.[4]

> The pilgrim proceeds to describe that in a wood to the east of the Indra Tank was the tank of the Dragon-king Muchalinda, the water of which was clear and dark with a sweet agreeable taste. On the west bank was a small temple with an image of the Buddha. It was here that Buddha on attaining bodhi sat in samādhi for seven days while the Dragon-king, with his body in seven coils round the body of the Buddha and with several heads specially produced for the purpose, screened and protected him. On the opposite bank was the home of this Dragon-king.

In his translation of this notice of the Muchalinda Tank Julien makes a change in the text which cannot be accepted. For *ch'ing-hei* (清黑), "clear and black" applied to the water he substitutes *ch'ing*(青)*-hei* which he translates "de couleur noir-bleu", adding in a note that 清 is "une faute grave" for 青. But all the texts and the "Fang-chih" have the former which, as the construction

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[1] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 32.
[2] Fang-kuang-la-chuang-yen-ching *ch.* 7.
[3] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 4.
[4] Lal. *ch.* XVIII.

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shews, is the correct reading. This Muchilinda Tank was the sixth of the Seven Places,[1] but we also read that the Buddha spent here the fifth of his seven weeks near the Bodhi Tree.[2] One or two of the legends give the dragon seven heads,[3] but these are not, as in Yuan-chuang, described as made for the occasion. In Pali the snake has only one head and his name is Muchalinda.[4] The account of him shielding the Buddha, absorbed in samādhi, from rain wind and irritating insects, is well known.

> The description continues. In a wood to the east of the Muchilinda Tank was a temple with an image of the Buddha in an emaciated condition; near it was his exercise ground with a peepul at its north and south ends. Educated and common people now as formerly when attacked by a malady smear the image with fragrant oil and, in many cases, cures are effected. It was here the P'usa went through a course of austerities. Julai in order to subdue the other systems also accepted Māra's invitation and went through austerities for six years: his daily allowance here was one grain of hemp or wheat, and he became wasted and emaciated; it was here that when walking up and down he raised himself by the help of a tree.

In this passage Yuan-chuang gives us to understand that the temple of the Starving P'usa and his exercise ground were at the very place where the P'usa mortified his flesh for six years. The text presents difficulties and it is perhaps corrupt. The statement that "Ju-lai in order to subdue the other systems also accepted Māra's invitation" (如來爲伏外道又受魔請) is rather perplexing. Julien's translation— "Après avoir dompté les hérétiques et reçu une prière du Māra," which reverses the order of things in the text, is not correct. The extreme emaciation of the P'usa at the end of his six years' fasting and mortification is told with painful minuteness in several

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[1] As. Res. Vol. XX. p. 187.

[2] Fang-kuang-ta-chuang-yen-ching l. c.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 31.

[4] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 5; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31. Vinaya (Pali) 1. 3. A different version of the legend will be found in the notice of the blind dragon.

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treatises. He is represented as mere skin and bone, with sallow complexion and sunken eyes, unable to stand erect, and apparently as good as dead.[1]

> The pilgrim next tells us that near the Peepul tree of the place of austerities was a tope to mark the spot at which Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya and his four companions lodged while they were in attendance on the P'usa. When the latter left his home to wander among mountains and marshes, and lodge by wood and spring, king Suddhodana, his father, had sent these five men to watch and wait on him. When he adopted a life of austerity the five also made diligent quest (that is, for emancipation).

We have already had the story of these five men in the account of Benares in *Chuan* VII. They were Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya (also called Kauṇḍinaja or Kondañña), Aśvajit, and Vāshpa paternal uncles of Prince Siddhārtha, and Mahānāma and Bhadrika his maternal uncles, according to some authorities.[2] But the story of these men being sent by king Suddhodana, or by him and the king of Koli, to watch and tend Siddhartha, does not square with their proceedings. They join the prince in practising austerities, approving of his extreme mortifications; and when he gives up his course of suicidal fasting, they leave him in disgust and go away to the Deer Park at Benares. The version of the legend which makes these five men to be merely ascetics or bhikshus living at the same place with the P'usa, and practising the same sort of austerities with the same object, is more in keeping with the sequel of the story.[3]

> The pilgrim goes on to describe that south-east from this tope was one at the spot where Buddha went into the Nairanjana river to bathe, and near it was the place where he received and ate the milk-gruel. Near this were topes where Buddha received his first food for 49 days from the two travelling merchants, and where the four Deva-rājas offered him four

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[1] A representation of him in this emaciated state will be found in the 'Journal of Indian Art and Industry' No. 62.

[2] Rockhill, 'Life', p. 28 and note. Divyāvadāna III. 328.

[3] Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31.

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golden alms-bowls in which to hold this food. The pilgrim goes on to tell that, when the Buddha declined these bowls as unsuitable for a religious mendicant, the dêva-rājas presented in succession alms-bowls of silver, crystal, lapislazuli, agate, nacre, and pearls, but these also were declined. Then each of the deva-rājas brought from his palace a stone bowl of a dark-violet colour, bright and lustrous. Bhagavān in order to prevent jealousy accepted these four bowls, put them together and compressed them into one, and this procedure accounts for the four-fold rim of the Buddha's alms-bowl.

This story of the two travelling merchants and the Deva-rajas agrees closely with the accounts in other books such as the "Hsing-chi-ching" and the Tibetan translation of the "Lalitavistara". The two merchants are Trapusha and Bhallika whom we have met already. For the "nacre" of my rendering the Chinese is Ch'ê-ch'ü (車渠) which Julien wrongly translates "amber". The word, which is evidently of foreign origin, denotes not only mother of pearl, but also a white precious stone imported into China from India. It is used to translate Musāra-galva which denotes "coral", and it is also found as transcribing or translating Karketana, the name of a white mineral. In several versions of the story there is no mention of the bowls of gold, silver, and other precious substances but each of the four Deva-rājas brings one stone bowl. Buddha accepts all these to prevent jealousy, and deals with them as in the text.[1]

Our pilgrim next tells us that close to the tope of the Alms-bowls offering was one where Buddha preached on his mother's behalf. As soon as Julai, having attained bodhi, was styled "Teacher of devas and men", his mother Māyā descended from Heaven at this place; and Bhagavān taking advantage of the opportunity imparted instruction for her edification and happiness. Beside this on a bank of a dried-up tank was a tope at the spot where Julai exhibited miraculous appearances, converting those with the efficient karma. Close to this was a tope at the place where Buddha received into his communion the three brothers Kāśyapa, and their 1000 disciples. When Julai began his career

1 Oldenberg's 'Vinaya', I. 4; Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 5.

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of religious leader and conqueror, the 500 disciples of Uruvilvā Kāśyapa requested permission to join him and their master said—Let us all leave error's way. So they went to Buddha, who told them to cast away their deer-skin garments and utensils of Fire-worship. The brahmins thereupon threw their clothes and utensils into the Nairañjana. Nadī-Kāśyapa, seeing the sacred vessels borne down the river, went to enquire about his elder brother's conduct, and seeing Uruvilva had changed his religion he also became a Buddhist. Then Gayā-Kāśyapa, with his 200 disciples, learning that his brothers had given up their system, also joined Buddha, wishing to lead his religious life. To the north-west of the Kāśyapa Tope was one at the spot where Buddha vanquished the Fire-dragon (that is, nāga or cobra) worshipped by the Kāśyapas. In order to convince these brahmins Buddha resolved to make himself master of their god. So he spent a night in the Fire-dragon's cave; when the dragon spouted smoke and flames, Buddha produced a glare which made the cave appear to be in flames; then he took the Fire-dragon in his alms-bowl and shewed him to the brahmins. Beside this tope was one on the place where 500 Pratyeka-Buddhas died at the same time. To the south of the Muchilinda Tank was a tope where Kāśyapa went to rescue Buddha from apparent drowning. The brothers Kāśyapa at this time were adepts in occult lore, and were respected and believed in by all. Bhagavan then proceeding to lead men out of error and reduce them to submission by great exercises of power produced rain-clouds which caused great downfalls of water all round the place where he was. Kāśyapa seeing the floods thought the Buddha might be drowned and went in a boat to rescue him, but he found Buddha walking on dry sand, water on all sides, and so Kāśyapa went away convinced.

In Julien's translation of this account of the topes to commemorate Buddha's complete triumph over the three brothers Kāśyapa there is a rendering which requires to be noticed. According to the pilgrim at the time of Buddha's visit to them, that is, very soon after he had become Buddha, the three brothers *t'ui-shên-t'ung* (推神通) according to the old texts, but *t'ui-shên-tao* (道) in the Ming edition. These words mean "were advanced in iddhi", or "were adepts in occult sciences", skilled in supernormal ways. Julien renders the words by "ayant adopté la doctrine sublime du *Bouddha*", a rendering which is not in accordance with either the facts of the case, or the

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meanings of the words. Uruvilvā Kāśyapa was 120,[1] or according to some 300 years old, when Buddha came to visit him with the view of making him a convert.[2] He was a fire-worshipper, a great astrologer and fortune-teller, he had extraordinary magical powers, and was held in high esteem and reverence by all the people of Magadha.[3] In a cave called the Fire-sanctuary he worshipped the fierce wicked Fire-dragon of which Yuan-chuang tells. Buddha coming to Uruvilvā to convert Kāśyapa insisted or being allowed to spend a night in the Fire-sanctuary. His contest with and victory over the dragon there is told in many books.[4] So also the story of Buddha and the flood at this place is related in other treatises. In some of these, however, the waters amid which Buddha stands and walks on dry ground are only a natural flood, not a magic deluge made by Buddha. These two miraculous exhibitions, along with many others, were made by Buddha in competition, as it were, with Uruvilvā Kāśyapa. This rishi was an arhat of position and distinction, and Buddha was desirous of gaining him over to the Brotherhood he was establishing. So he wrought some thousands of miracles, and argued and expounded until he prevailed on the great Fire-worshipper to give up his religion and prestige, and take the vows of a Buddhist mendicant. When the eldest brother had gone over, his disciples followed his example, and afterwards his two brothers in succession, with their disciples, also became Buddhists. All soon rose to be arhats in the new religion, but we find little mention of them after their ordination beyond certain miraculous exhibitions made by the eldest brother in honour of Buddha.[5]

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[1] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 556); Rockhill, 'Life', p. 41.

[2] Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 9.

[3] Fang-kuang-ching *ch.* 12; Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 40, 41, 42.

[4] Vinaya, Vol. I, pp. 24—35; Mahāvastu T. III, p. 424 ff. The legend in this work differs in some particulars from the versions in other treatises.

[5] Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 11.

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The pilgrim proceeds to relate that two or three *li* outside of the east gate of the Bodhi Tree inclosure was the home of the Blind dragon. As the result of bad karma in former births, he states, this dragon had been born blind. When Julai on his way from the Prāgbodhi Hill to the Bodhi Tree was passing the dragon's cave, the dragon suddenly obtained, eyesight and predicted to the P'usa the attainment of Buddahood that day. He explained that when the three Past Buddhas in succession began their careers he had been released from blindness on each occasion, and so the present opening of his eyes told him that the P'usa was about to become Buddha.

In this account of the Dragon-rāja giving the P'usa assurance of success at the Bodhi Tree our pilgrim follows certain scriptures. These tell us that after being refreshed by the maiden's offering of food the P'usa was on his way to the Bodhi Tree, and passing the den of a blind dragon. By the prodigies which occurred at the moment, and the opening of his own eyes, the dragon knew that a Buddha had appeared, and predicted to the P'usa immediate success.[1] In other books the dragon Muchilinda is blind, and gains his eyesight after his protection of Buddha for seven days.[2] Then there are several treatises which call the prophesying dragon Kāḷa or Kāḷika (in Chinese Kāṭa written 迦茶) meaning "Black", and do not represent him as blind.[3] In some of these he has a queen and family, and has lived through several kalpas, having witnessed the coming of the three Past Buddhas.

The pilgrim next tells of the tope at the place where Māra rāja tried to frighten the P'usa at the side of the east gate of the Bodhi Tree inclosure. When Māra, he adds, learned that the P'usa was about to attain perfect enlightenment, having failed in his wiles to lead the P'usa astray, he became gloomy and desponding. Then collecting all his gods he marshalled them in battle array to terrify the P'usa. And now there were tempest and showers, thunder and lightning and gloomy darkness, shooting fire and flying smoke, sand and stones were heaved up, all kinds of arms (lit. spears and shields and bows and arrows)

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1 Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 3; Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 6.

2 T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-ching *ch.* 2; Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 31.

3 Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 26; Lal. *ch.* XIX; Mahāvastu T. II. p. 397 ff.

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were applied everywhere. Hereupon the P'usa went into the samādhi of "great compassion", and all the warlike weapons were changed into lotus flowers, and Māra's army panic-stricken fled in all directions.

In his rendering of the original here Julien has failed to express his author's meaning. Thus his "le tonnerre gronda dans l'espace, et des éclairs menaçants sillonnèrent les sombres nues" is for the Chinese *lei-tien-hui-ming* (雷電晦冥) "thunder, lightning and darkness". Then follows— "Des jets de feu et des tourbillons de fumée, *un déluge de sable et une grêle de pierres remplacèrent les boucliers et les lances, et tinrent lieu d'arcs et de flèches.*" The italics here are mine and the original is given below,[1] its literal meaning being "stirring up sand and agitating stones, full equipment of spears and shields, and exhaustive use of bows and arrows." It is not possible to get "remplacèrent" out of *pei-chü*, or "tinrent lieu" out of *chi-yung*. Moreover in the next sentence the narrative tells how the "warlike weapons" of Māra's host were changed into lotus flowers. Yuan-chuang had evidently read the legends which describe the motley terrible army summoned by the Evil One to intimidate the aspirant to Buddhahood and drive him from the Bodhimaṇḍa, and the means by which the army tried to carry out their chief's command. The fierce creatures howled and yelled, raised tempests and sent down deluges, hurled thunderbolts and flashed lightnings, made day into night enveloping the P'usa in darkness, upheaved rocks and raised sandstorms, flung spears and arrows and all kinds of warlike missiles at the P'usa. These weapons, however, as they passed through the air became lotus flowers, and fell harmless at his feet. All the time he sat calm and motionless, absorbed in an ecstatic contemplation of universal compassion. The account of Māra's attempt to overpower the P'usa and drive him from the Bodhi Tree is given at length in the "Lalita-vistara", the "Hsing-chi-ching", and several other treat-

[1] The text is 揚沙激石備矛盾之具極弦失之用.

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ises.[1] In the Pali Vinaya the attainment of bodhi is described without any mention of an attack by Māra and his army, but the attack was probably taken to be known as the passage speaks of "scattering Māra's host".[2] The corresponding sections in the "Ssŭ-fên" and "Wu-fên" Vinayas also do not contain any reference to the great onslaught.[3] It may be noticed that in the latter of these two works instead of "Māra's host" we have "Māra's darkness", and this agrees with the words which follow.

> The description proceeds. "Outside of the north gate of the Bodhi Tree is the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma built by a former king of Ceylon". Its buildings formed six courts, with terraces and halls of three storeys, enclosed by walls between 30 and forty feet high; the sculpture and painting were perfect. The image of Buddha was made of gold and silver, and ornamented by precious stones of various colours. There were elegant topes lofty and spacious containing bone and flesh relics of Buddha. On the last day of every year when the relics were brought out to be shewn a light shone and flowers fell in showers. In this establishment there were nearly 1000 ecclesiastics all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school, and all perfect in Vinaya observances. The pilgrim then narrates the origin and foundation of the monastery at some length.

The vihāra or monastery here called "Mahābodhi-saṅghārāma" was evidently a very large and splendid establishment in excellent preservation. It is not mentioned by name by Fa-hsien, but it may have been one of his three saṅghārāmas. The six courts were evidently large quadrangles, planted with trees, and surrounded by houses

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[1] Lal. *ch.* XXI: Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 28; T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-ching *ch.* 1; Mahāvastu T. II. p. 410. [Watters thinks that the expression in the Pali Vinaya implies a knowledge, at the time when it was composed, of this legend of Māra's Temptation. Windisch in his '*Māra und Buddha*' (pp. 304 foll.) has carefully discussed the history of this legend. He shows that it cannot be traced in Pali earlier than the 5th century A. D., and that the expression Watters refers to does not imply any knowledge of the temptation legend.]

[2] Vinaya, Vol. 1, p. 2.

[3] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 31; Wu-fên-lü *ch.* 15.

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which served as residences for the Brethren and lodging-places for guests. I-ching tells of a pilgrim sitting in one of these quadrangles under an asoka tree making images of Buddha and Kuanyin.[1] He, like some others, uses the name "Mahābodhi" to designate a district, and it seems to correspond roughly to the old Uruvilvā. He writes, for example, of the "vihāras of Mahābodhi and Kusinārā", and of the countries "from Mahābodhi east to Lin-i".[2] He translates Mahābodhi-vihāra by *Ta-chiao-ssŭ* or "Monastery of Great Enlightenment", but he and others also call it simply P'u-t'i-ssŭ or „Bodhi monastery". I-ching also seems to use Mahābodhi and Mahābodhi-vihāra as convertible terms, and as general designations for the locality including its various sacred objects. Thus some of his pilgrims going to Mahābodhi-vihāra or Mahābodhi "inspect the sacred traces": the Muchilinda dragon was at Mahābodhi,[3] and so was the image of Buddha made by Maitreya.[4] But this image cannot have been found by I-ching in the same building in which it was found by our pilgrim. I-ching and his friends had a good view of the image—"the real portrait"—, and I-ching was able to measure it for a silk robe, and afterwards dress it in the robe. If the beautiful image had been in the brahmin's temple, into which daylight could not penetrate, these things could not have occurred. In one place I-ching specialises the monastery calling it the "Vajrāsana Mahābodhi-vihāra", adding that it had been made by a king of Ceylon, and used as a lodging place by pilgrims from Ceylon.[5] But in the seventh century this monastery was evidently an Indian institution, and under government control. When the Chinese ambassador sent by T'ang T'ai Tsung, Wang Yuan-tsê, came to the district, he was lodged

[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 30 and *ch.* 10.

[3] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *ch.* 9.

[4] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1 for Hsüan-chao and *ch.* 2 I-ching's account of his own career.

[5] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1.

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here as the guest of the head of the establishment;[1] so also was the pilgrim Tao-fang; and when Wu-hsing and his companion came to the Monastery the government officials made them honorary members (*chu-jen* 主人).[2] It will be noticed that Yuan-chuang describes the monks of this establishment as Mahāyānists of the Sthavira School, and he applies the same terms to the Brethren of Ceylon in his account of that island. As the Sthavira School is generally represented as belonging to the early and Hīnayāna form of Buddhism it would seem that in these and other passages Yuan-chuang uses the term Mahāyāna in a peculiar sense, as has been already stated. At his time many of the Brethren in the Magadha Monasteries were evidently Mahāyānists in that sense.

> Our pilgrim goes on to tell us that for ten *li* and more south of the Bodhi Tree the sacred traces were too close together to be all enumerated. Every year, he adds, when the bhikshus break up the Rain-Retreat, clergy and laity come from all quarters in myriads and for seven days and nights bearing fragrant flowers and making music they wander through the wood and perform acts of worship. He relates that the Brethren in India in accordance with the Buddha's instructions entered on Retreat on the first day of the month Śrāvaṇa, corresponding to the Chinese 16th day of the 5th month, and went out of Retreat on the last day of the month Āśvayuja, corresponding to the Chinese 15th day of the 8th month. In India the months' name go according to stars, and the course of time makes no change nor do schools vary. But [in China] perhaps from erroneous interpretation a wrong time has come to be taken for Retreat, viz. a month too early, from the 16th day of the 4th month to the 15th day of the 7th month.

In *Chuan* II, as we have seen, our pilgrim complains of incorrect names for the Rain-Retreat having come into use in China. Here he points out how misinterpretation

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[1] Hsi-yü-chih quoted in Fa-yuan-chu-lin *ch.* 39.

[2] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 2. The student in reading I-ching's two treatises quoted in this chapter will find valuable assistance in M. Chavannes' translation of the Hsi-yü-ch'iu and Mr Takakusu's translation of the Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei.

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or mistranslation had brought about an error as to the time of keeping the Retreat. The word for "stars" in this passage is *hsing*, the common word for "star", but here our pilgrim evidently meant by it asterisms or Nakshatras. Thus Śrāvaṇa, the name of the month July-August, is from Śravaṇa, the name of an asterism, and Āśvayuja, the month September-October, is from Aśvayuj, the name of an asterism.

In this passage, as in the previous one about the Rain-Retreat,[1] we have the two readings *liang* meaning "two" and *yü* meaning "rain". Here the latter is to be taken as the proper reading, and the pilgrim in the last sentence drops the qualifying prefix and uses simply *an-chü*.

[1] Above Vol 1, pp. 144—146.

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CHAPTER XV.

MAGADHA CONTINUED.

CHUAN IX of our Records begins by telling us that in a wood, to the east of the Bodhi Tree and on the other side of the Nairanjana river, was a tope, and to the north of this a tank which was the place where the "Scent-elephant" served his mother. Formerly, the pilgrim continues, Ju-lai in his career as a P'usa was a young "scent-elephant"; his home was in the North Mountains and he wandered to the banks of this tank; his mother was blind, and he gathering lotus-roots and drawing pure water, waited on her with filial piety, going about as the seasons changed. Once a man lost his way in this wood and cried out in helpless distress; the young elephant thereupon kindly led him out of the wood, and shewed him the way home. When the man returned to his native place he told the king about the "scent-elephant", and then went as guide with the force which the king sent to capture the animal. At the instant this man pointed out the elephant his arms fell down as if lopped off. The king had the elephant brought to his stables and tied up there, but the creature would not take any food. In reply to the king's question he said he could not enjoy any food knowing that his blind mother was starving; thereupon the king moved by the filial display of the elephant set him free.

This curious story of the Buddha in one of his previous existences having been a "scent-elephant" or Gandhahastin is the Mātiposaka Jātaka (No. 455 of the Pali Jātaka). There is a different version of it given in the late work the "Bhadrakalpa Avadāna", and still another version in a Chinese translation of a Sanskrit treatise.[1] In the latter

[1] Bud. Lit. Nep. p. 46; Tsa-pao-tsang-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 1329).

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work the king of Videha, who is at enmity with the king of Kāsi, owns a scent-elephant which makes him unconquerable by his enemy. The king of Kāsi manages to get possession of the elephant, but the latter refuses to take food because his blind parents are starving on account of his absence. He is allowed to go and nurse them, and finally he effects a reconciliation between the two kings. The Gandhahastin was apparently an unknown and imaginary creature which was supposed to have the strength of ten ordinary elephants. It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the word occurs as a proper name, two Buddhas and a Bodhisattva being so called. The words rendered in the above passage by "going about as the seasons changed" are yü-shi-t'ui-i (與時推移). Julien, separating these from their connection translates them by— "Dans la suite des temps", a rendering which does great violence to the text.

By the side of this tope, the pilgrim tells us, was another one in front of which a stone pillar had been erected where the Buddha Kāśyapa had sat in meditation, and beside it was a place with vestiges of the sites used for sitting and exercise by the Four Past Buddhas. From this, the narrative proceeds, going east across the *Mo-ha* river you come to a stone pillar in a large wood. It was here that the Tīrthika *Yü-t'ou-lan tzŭ* (that is, Udra-rāma-putra) went into Samādhi and uttered his wicked vow. This man, the pilgrim explains, had led a life of ascetic seclusion in this "religious wood", and had attained supernormal powers. He was greatly reverenced by the king of Magadha, who invited him into the palace for his midday meal, and waited on him personally. When the king went away for a time he entrusted one of his daughters with the duty of attending to the holy man, and she was careful to carry out her father's desires. As she prepared a seat for the Tīrthika, however, she came in contact with him, and he thereupon felt the stirrings of desire and lost his spiritual powers. Pretending to the princess that he was about to return to his hermitage, not through the air as he had always done before, but on foot for the benefit of the people, he walked to this wood. Here he tried to go into samādhi, but the chattering of the birds and the brawling (B. gambols) of the watery tribes when he went to the tank, distracted his mind and spoiled his spiritual exercises. So he became enraged, and made a vow to return into the world as a fierce ani-

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mal with the body of a gigantic wild cat and the wings of a bird. His passion now gradually abated, and he regained the power of samādhi; soon afterwards he died and went to Heaven where he is to remain for 80000 kalpas. At the end of that period, according to Buddha's prediction, he is to realize his old evil desire, and there is no period fixed for his release from this bad state of existence.

The original invention of the silly story here told was perhaps due to a punning explanation of the great rishi's name. This is given by Yuan-chuang here, as in a previous passage, as Uddo (or Udra) Rāma-putra, but another form of the name, viz. Udraka, is given by our pilgrim in his translations. Then we have also the forms Rudra and Rudraka with Rāma-putra added. The word udra denotes an *otter* and I-ching translates it in this name by *Shui-t'a* or "Water otter". But the uddo or udra does not live in the water, he lives in the jungle, and hunts his prey on land and in water. Then Rudra or rudraka means *fierce* and *terrible*, and so we find Rudraka Rāma-putra rendered by *Mêng-hsi-tzŭ* or "the fierce son of joy". This Udra or Rudra was, we know, a great religious teacher living in a hermitage near Rājagaha at the time when Siddhārtha left home to enter on his career. Siddhārtha went to him to learn the way of salvation, but finding that the teaching did not lead to absolute final results he went away to work out his problems alone. On becoming Buddha he proposed to go to his former master Udra and impart to him the new method of salvation. But a voice from the heavens told him that Udra had died the night (or seven nights) before. The Buddha sighed over Udra's misfortune in not surviving to hear the new way of deliverance, for he knew that Udra, who had attained "the samādhi of the negation of thought", would have grasped his doctrines quickly, and thus have obtained release from all future births. As matters stood the rishi, according to some accounts, had gone to the "Heaven of the negation of the absence of thought", and is to remain there for an immensely long period. When his life there is over he is to be reborn in this world as

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a wild cat or a fox, and go about with an insatiable appetite preying on birds, beasts, and fishes.[1] Then dying of starvation he is to go to Hell for a period, and, as Yuan-chuang has stated, the Buddha did not announce how long this purgatory is to last. There is no satisfactory explanation for this descent of Udra into lower lives, and the myth does not seem to suit the affectionate respect with which the Buddha is represented in some treatises as speaking of his old teacher.[2]

The river which Yuan-chuang in this passage says he crossed, going east from the Bodhi Tree district, is called by him *Mo-ha*. Julien turns this into Mahī, and Cunningham calls the river the *Mohana-nadī*. But the Chinese Mo-ha cannot be for Mahī, and it is possible it may be for the Sanskrit *mahā, great* or *large*, and *moha ho* may be either a proper name or simply "a large river". We have a *mahā ho* here in Magadha, and in Chuan XI we have one in the Malva Country.

Returning to the pilgrim's narrative it tells us that going east from the *Moha* river through a forest and jungle for above 100 *li* you come to the Kukkuṭapāda (Cock's foot) or Gurupāda (Sage's foot) Mountain. The lofty peaks of this mountain are endless cliffs, and its deep valleys are boundless ravines; its lower slopes have their gullies covered with tall trees, and rank vegetation clothes the steep heights. A threefold cliff projects in isolated loftiness, reaching to the sky and blending with the clouds. As time went on since the Venerable Mahā Kāśyapa took up his abode in it, in nirvāṇa, the people not venturing to speak plainly talked of it as the Gurupāda mountain. This Mahā Kāśyapa, the pilgrim goes on to relate, was a disciple who had attained full supernatural powers. When the Julai having finished his mission was about to pass away he addressed Kāśyapa, saying—"For vast kalpas I devoted myself zealously to austerities seeking to obtain the highest religion (*fa* 法) for all creatures; my aspirations have been all realized; as I now wish to pass away, I commit to you all my canon to preserve and preach in its entirety; my gold-embroidered monk's robe, the gift of

[1] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 33; Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 28; Abhi.-shun-chêng-li-lun *ch.* 68 (No. 1265).

[2] In the Pali Vinaya Vol. I, p. 7 for instance.

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my aunt, keep to hand over to Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha; those who will then be adherents of the religion which I am leaving, monks and nuns, male and female lay-believers, are all to be saved first, and released from renewed existence". Kāsyapa thereupon undertook the charge of Buddha's religion. Twenty years after he had drawn up the canon, wearied with impermanence, he proceeded to "enter nirvāṇa". So going up the north side of the Cock-foot Mountain, and thence to its south-west ridge where there were steep precipices and narrow tortuous paths, with his monk's staff he opened a way by which he reached the summit emerging on the north-east side. There he entered the triple peak, inside which he stands holding Buddha's robe, the threefold summit having closed over him by the force of his prayer, and the mountain still retains the dorsal triple elevation. Hereafter when Maitreya has come, and has had his three assemblies, there will still remain an immense number of unbelievers; these Maitreya will lead to this mountain and shew them Kāśyapa; but the sight will only increase their pride of spirit. Then Kāśyapa will, in their presence, give over the Buddha's robe to Maitreya and bid him farewell; having done this he will soar into the air, work miracles, and pass away by magic combustion. Seeing all this the unbelievers will be moved to faith, and eventually will all attain arhatship. At the tope on this mountain bright lights are seen occasionally in the stillness of the night, but they may not be visible to you when you ascend the mountain.

The mountain here called by our pilgrim Cock's-Foot and Sage's-Foot is also called Wolf's-Traces (Lang-chih 狼跡) that is perhaps, Kokapāda.[1] It is placed by Fa-hsien three *li* south from the Bodhi Tree. In some treatises the country of the mountain is not given, or it is said to be in Magadha,[2] or at the P'i-t'i (Videha) village in Magadha.[3] I-ching places the Gurupāda mountain seven yojanas to the south from Nālandā, and so near the Bodhi[4] Tree. The story of Mahā

[1] Mahāmāya-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 382); Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching (No. 209); The "Wolf's-Traces" mountain was apparently part of Gṛidhrakūṭa.

[2] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40; A-yü-wang-chuang *ch.* 4.

[3] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-hsia-shêng-ching (No. 208), where the title is different.

[4] Hsi-yü-ch'iu *ch.* 1; Chavannes, 'Mémoires', p. 47.

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Kāśyapa going into and remaining within the Cock's-Foot mountain is told in several Buddhist treatises, but with some differences of detail. When Kāśyapa has finished his work of compiling the canon he hands over charge of the Church to Ānanda, and goes away to worship at the four great chaityas, and the topes over relics of Buddha. Then after trying in vain to take farewell of king Ajātaśatru he proceeds to the Cock's-Foot mountain, enters it at the triple peak, and sits down inside to await the coming of Maitreya. Soon afterwards Ajātaśatru comes to the place, the hill opens, and the king sees Kāśyapa, whereupon he builds a tope on the mountain.[1] When Maitreya comes he will find, according to the Divyāvadāna and other treatises, only the perfect compact skeleton of Kāśyapa, and he will lift this with his right hand, and placing it on the palm of his left, shew it to his unbelieving congregation.[2] Some accounts, however, represent Kāśyapa as only remaining in samādhi, or in a state of torpor, and he is to be roused on the advent of Maitreya by Indra rubbing him with sweet-scented oil.[3] This was probably our pilgrim's conception; but he does not express himself clearly and consistently. The pride of the unbelievers being increased on the sight of the mummy is due to the fact that the people of Maitreya's time will all be giants compared with those of the time of Gautama Buddha.[4] According to some versions of the legend it was not the gold-embroidered robe, but his ordinary one of dirt-heap rags that Buddha gave to his successor to keep for Maitreya.[5] And in some accounts Kāśyapa puts on the robe and goes into the mountain to wait for Maitreya apparently of his own motion, and without any instructions from

[1] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 40.

[2] Divyāv. p. 61; Abhi-kośa-lun *ch.* 28 (No. 1267); Sar. Vin. Yao-shih *ch.* 6.

[3] Fo-shuo-Mi-lê-ta-ch'êng-Fo-ching.

[4] Ta-chih-tu-lun *ch.* 3, here Kāśyapa is in the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain.

[5] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih l. c.

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the Buddha.[1] We must also notice that in at least one treatise we find the Buddha delivering the gold-embroidered robe to the disciple of whom he predicts that in the distant future he will become Maitreya Buddha.[2]

The pilgrim, continuing his narrative, states that he went from the Kukkuṭapāda Mountain north-east, above 100 *li*, and came to the Buddhavana Mountain, with lofty peaks and closely packed cliffs. Buddha, he adds, had rested in a cave in its steep side. At the side of this was a flat stone which Śakra and Brahmā had once used for grinding Oxhead Sandal to rub over Buddha's body: the stone still retained the perfume. On this mountain also the 500 Arhats remained dormant: those who moved them to an interview might see them going as śrāmaṇeras into a village to beg food: whether secret or open the effects of their supernormal action could not be recorded. From this mountain a journey eastward of above 30 *li* through a valley led the pilgrim, he tells us, to the Yashṭi (or Stick) Wood, a dense forest of bamboos which covered a mountain. This leads the pilgrim to record how an unbelieving brahmin, doubting the statement that Śākyamuni Buddha was sixteen feet high, had a stick of that length made to take his measure. But as the figure always exceeded the height of the stick he could never learn the true height of Buddha. So in a fit of disgust he threw away the stick, which took root, and from it came the wood which got the name Yashṭivana. In this Asoka had erected a tope and Buddha had exhibited miracles and preached for seven days to devas and men. Our pilgrim then tells the story of the devoted upāsaka of recent times by name Jayasena, who had lived in this Wood. Above ten *li* to the south-west of the Yashṭivana, the pilgrim continues, were two hot springs made by Buddha and used by him. Six or seven *li* to the south-east of the Wood, on a ridge of a mountain, was a tope where Buddha had preached to men and devas for two or three months, when king Bimbisāra had constructed a road through the mountain above twenty paces wide and two or three *li* in length.

The miracle which our pilgrim here narrates as originating the name of the Yashṭi-vana or Stick-Wood is unfortunately not in agreement with other Buddhist texts. From these we learn that the name and place were well known

[1] Ta-pei-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 117).

[2] Fo-shuo-ku(or Mi-lê)-lai-shi-ching (No. 206).

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at the beginning of the Buddha's career. These books tell us that when he proceeded from the neighbourhood of the Bodhi Tree to pay his first visit, as the Buddha, to Rājagriha, he rested on the way in the Yashṭi-vana, the Stick (or Staff) wood.[1] As a variant for Yashṭi we find Lashṭi,[2] and there are the two Pali forms Yaṭṭhi and Laṭṭhi. Moreover we find the place called the *Sü-p'o-lo-ti*, that is, Subhalaṭṭhi with the word for *trees* added.[3] It is called in some books a *garden* or *park* and in others a *mountain*. In it was a noted shrine called the Supratishṭha-chaitya. This Supratishṭha (in Pali Supatiṭṭha) was the god of a banyan tree in the Wood,[4] and the chaitya, at which Buddha lodged, was apparently only the foot of the banyan. The name of the chaitya is rendered in Chinese by *Shan-an-chu* (善安住), "well settled" and by *Shan-chien* (善建) "well established".[5] It was evidently this name, Supratishṭha, which the Tibetan translator had before him in the passage given by Rockhill; and the tentative rendering "Consecrated" given by the latter[6] should be replaced by "Well-established" or a similar phrase. This Wood is not mentioned by Fa-hsien, and the Sung pilgrim[7] places it 100 *li* north-west from the Cock's-Foot Mountain, which according to him was 100 *li* south-east from the Bodhi Tree. In one book it is said to be 40 *li* from Rājagriha, and it was evidently to the west of that city, and not far from it. It is still, according to Cunningham, "well known as the *Jakhti-ban*, which is only the Hindī form of the Sanskrit word".[8] As to the two Hot Springs mentioned by our pilgrim these

[1] Sar. Vin. Ch'u-chia-shih, *ch.* 2; Mahāvastu III. 441; Yin-kuo-ching, *ch.* 4. Pali Vinaya 1. 35.

[2] Hsing-chi-ching *ch.* 48.

[3] Chung-pên-ch'i-ching *ch.* 1 (No. 556).

[4] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 33.

[5] Hsing-chi-ching l. c.; Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38; Dh. p. 119.

[6] Rockhill's, Life', p. 42 and note.

[7] Ma T. l. *ch.* 338.

[8] 'Ancient Geog. of India'. p. 461.

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are still, Cunningham tells us, to be found "at a place called Tapoban". In Buddhist writings we find mention of a T'a-pu (Tapo) Ho or Hot river,[1] and of a Tapodārāma or Hot-water Monastery near Rājagaha.[2] These may represent the "Hot-springs" of the pilgrim, but they were there before Buddha's time, and there is mention of several hot-water springs in the neighbourhood of the city.

> Our pilgrim's narrative next goes on to tell that three or four *li* north from the great mountain with Bimbisāra's road was an isolated hill on which the rishi Vyāsa once dwelt as a hermit. Four or five *li* north from this was a small isolated hill in the rocky side of which was a cave large enough to seat above 1000 men: at the south-west corner of it was the Asura's Palace. With reference to this the pilgrim tells a story of a "mischievous" (好事者) man (in Julien's rendering "un ami du merveilleux") who induced 13 friends to go with him into this cave. They all went forward about 30 or 40 *li* when they came to a city of gold, and silver, and lapis-lazuli. Two female servants told the party they must all, except their magician leader, take a bath before going in; when the thirteen men had bathed they found themselves in a rice-field about 30 *li* up the valley. Beside the cave ran the causeway made by king Bimbisāra to get to the Buddha. It was about four *li* long by ten paces wide, formed by cutting throught banks of rock and filling up valleys, piling up stones, boring through precipices, and making a succession of steps. From this going east across the mountain for above 60 *li* the pilgrim came to the Kusāgrapur city, "the city of the superior reed-grass", the centre of Magadha and its old capital. The city derived its name from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there. High hills formed its outer walls; on the west it had a narrow outlet: on the north was a passage through the mountain; it was above 150 *li* in circuit: *kaṇika* trees with fragrant bright golden blossoms were on all the paths, and these made the woods in late spring all golden coloured.

The term here rendered "causeway" is Chan-tao (棧道) properly a gangway made to span two isolated points. In this passage it is evidently an artificial stone road forming a long series of steps across and up the mountain to the

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[1] Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 38.

[2] Sam. Nik. Vol. I. p. 8.

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place where the Buddha lodged. For the "filling up valleys" of the present translation the Chinese is *tien-chuan* (塡川), but in the B text the reading is wrongly *tao*(導)-*chuan*, "leading streams in their courses". In his translation of this passage Julien restores *kü-shê-ka-lo-pu-lo* by Kuśāgārapura or "Palace of the Kuśa house". But the translation *shang-mao* (上茅), "superior reed-grass" apparently supposes the word Kuśāgra. The *city* was called Kuśāgrapura on account of the "very excellent lucky fragrant grass" which it produced. It is the Rājagaha or Old Rājagaha of the Pali scriptures.

> Our pilgrim next goes on to tell that outside the north gate of the [old] capital was a tope to commemorate the following event. Devadatta and Ajātaśatru having become friends let loose the intoxicated elephant Wealth-guarding in the desire of killing Ju-lai, but the latter from the tips of his fingers produced five lions, whereupon the elephant became gentle, and went away.

This ridiculous story of the intoxicated elephant is told with variations in several of the Buddhist books. According to one of these[1] a rich layman of Rājagaha had invited the Buddha and his disciples to breakfast. Devadatta with the consent of Ajātaśatru hires men to make the king's elephant Dhanapāla mad with wine, and then let him loose on the morning of the breakfast to trample Buddha to death. The Buddha, who is staying in the Bamboo Park, is warned, but he sets out for the house of his host in the city. The drunken elephant rushes towards him. The Buddha thereupon produces five lions from the tips of the fingers of one hand: at the same time, according to some versions,[2] he also causes a wall, and pit, and great fires to appear. The elephant is cowed and sobered, and becomes a devoted follower of the Buddha. Julien in his translation of the pilgrim's account gives "gardien du trésor" as the meaning of the author's *Hu-ts'ai* (護財), but this is a proper name. It translates the Indian *Dhanapāla* "wealth-guarding",

[1] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 19. Cf. Hardy, 'Man. Bud.' 331.

[2] Vibhāsha-lun *ch.* 11.

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the name given to the savage elephant owned by king Ajātaśatru,[1] and another rendering is Shou-ts'ai (守財) with the same meaning. In some older versions of the story there are no magic lions, or fires, and the Buddha sobers and tames the elephant by gentle words.[2] Fa-hsien differs from others in making the king himself send a black elephant to murder Buddha.[3]

> North-east from this tope, the narrative in our Records continues, was another at the place where Śāriputra having heard Buddhism from the bhikshu Aśvajit became an arhat. The pilgrim hereupon tells briefly how the arhatship was attained. Not far from this tope, he continues, was a deep hollow beside which was another tope. It was here that Śrīgupta tried to kill Buddha, first by a pit with burning fire, and then by poisoned food. The story of this rich dupe of Buddha's rivals making, on their suggestion, a burning pit with a treacherous covering in order to kill Buddha, and of a further attempt to poison Buddha on the same occasion, is then told.

This story of Śrīgupta as told in our text is related also in several other books, e. g. in the "Avadāna Kalpalatā"[4] and the "Tsêng-i-a-han-ching".[5] In Fa-hsien's narrative the murderous plot is ascribed to an unnamed Nirgrantha.[6]

> The pilgrim's description proceeds— North-east from Śrīgupta's Fire-pit, and in a bend of the mountain wall, was a tope at the spot where Jīvaka, the great physician, had built a hall for the Buddha. Remains of the walls and of the plants and trees within them still existed. Julai often stayed here. Beside the tope the ruins of Jīvaka's private residence still survived.

The great physician Jīvaka of this passage was a distinguished follower and attached friend of the Buddha. He was an illegitimate son of king Bimbisāra according to some

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[1] 'Questions of Milinda' by Rhys Davids Vol. I p. 297–8 and note.

[2] Pali Vinaya, II. 195 Rockhill's, 'Life', p. 93 where the elephant's name is given as Ratnapāla or Vasupāla; Shi-sung-lü *ch.* 36.

[3] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 28.

[4] Journal Bud. Text Soc. Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 10.

[5] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching *ch.* 41.

[6] Fo-kuo-chi l. c.

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accounts,[1] but of Abhaya, a son of Bimbisāra, according to the Ceylon authorities.[2] In his youth he chose the medical profession for his career, and went to Takshaśilā to study the art of healing under the famous teachers of that city. When he returned to Rājagriha and settled there, he lived in a Mango orchard, which was apparently in the inclosure between the city proper and the hills which formed its outer defences on the east side.[3] It was in this orchard that Jīvaka made for Buddha a chapel or a monastery, according to some accounts in the 20th year of Buddha's career. In some Chinese translations the word āmra, *mango*, is rendered by *li* (梨) "a pear", but generally the Indian name is merely transcribed. Fa-hsien writes this *an-p'o-lo*, that is, abra, the *m* of Sanskrit becoming *b* in his transcription, as in his Yabunā for Yamunā. He places the chapel of Jīvaka, whom he calls *Ch'i-chiu* (耆 蕉), in a bend in the north-east corner of the city. Instead of *Ch'i-chiu* we also find Fa-hsien using *Ch'i-yü* (耆 域) that is Jīva, and the character for *chiu* is probably a mistake. As a son of a king or a prince Jīvaka is frequently styled a Kumārabhūta, in Chinese a *wang* or a *t'ung*, "boy", with the same meaning.

> The pilgrim's narrative proceeds. From the capital (li. e. the walled city of Old Rājagaha) he went north-east 14 or 15 *li* to the Gṛidhrakūṭa or Vulture Peak Mountain. This, he says, is continuous with the south side of the North Mountain, and rises to a great height, blending with the empyrean. Its summit is a perch for vultures, and is like a terrace. During the fifty years of his spiritual administration the Buddha lived much and taught his religion on this mountain. There is a road from the foot to the top, made by king Bimbisāra in order to reach the Buddha and hear him preach. The top is elongated from east to west, and narrow from north to south. Close to a cliff on the west side is a magnificent brick hall (*ching-shê*), opening to the east, in which the Buddha often preached. In it is a life-size image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching. To the east

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1 Rockhill, 'Life', p. 64; Hsing-ch'i-ching *ch.* 1.

2 Hardy, 'Man. Bud.' 244; Bigandet, 'Legend', Vol. I. p. 196.

3 Fo-shuo-shêng-ching *ch.* 2; Fo-shuo-chi-chih-kuo-ching (No. 593).

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of this hall is a large stone, an exercise-place of the Buddha, and at its side a rock, about fourteen feet high and above 30 paces in circumference, where Devadatta hurled a rock at the Buddha. South of this, and below the cliff, is a tope on the spot where the Buddha delivered the "Fa-hua-ching". To the south of the temple, and at the side of the cliff, is a large cave in which the Buddha once sat in samādhi. North-west from this is another cave, with a large flat stone, in front of which Māra as a vultnre frightened Ānanda. Near the temple are caves in which Śāriputra and other arhats went into samādhi.

This description of the Gṛidhrakūṭa, or Vulture Peak, is apparently all derived from Buddhist books and local information. This mountain, the Gijjhakūṭa of the Pali scriptures and early writers, has been identified by Cunningham with the present *Śailagiri*, and the identification is possibly correct.[1] But it is very remarkable that while its natural caves, great and small, are important features of the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain, Cunningham "could not hear of the existence of any cave" in the Śailagiri mountain. In addition to the caves in the Vulture Peak mentioned by our pilgrim, and by Fa-hsien, we read of others such as the cave which was the residence of the Yaksha Gambhīra, transcribed in Chinese *Kin-p'i-lo* (金 毗 羅) and sometimes translated *Shên-yuan* (深 遠) or "Very far" that is "Profound".[2] It was in this cave or "Yaksha's Palace" that the Buddha was sitting when Devadatta hurled the rock at him, and it may be our pilgrim's cave in which the Buddha sat in samādhi. When we are told here by Yuan-chuang that the Buddha delivered the "Fa-hua-ching", that is the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, and by Fa-hsien[3] that Buddha delivered the "Shou-lêng-yen", that is the Sūrāngamasamādhisūtra, on this mountain, we must remember that these pilgrims are writing as Mahāyānists, and that they are following the opening statements of these two sūtras, To the pilgrims the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra and the Sūrān-

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India', p. 466.

[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih *ch.* 18; Pi-nai-ye *ch.* 5; Shi-sung-lü *ch.* 36.

[3] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 29.

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gama-samādhi-sūtra, composed long after the Buddha's decease, were his genuine utterances delivered in the circumstances set forth in their opening paragraphs. There are also several other Mahāyāna sūtras which profess to have been delivered by the Buddha to large congregations of believers on the Gṛidhrakūṭa. The magnificent brick hall of which our pilgrim tells us here as being on this mountain, must have been a recent structure erected after the time of Fa-hsien, and perhaps on the ruins of the hall which that pilgrim mentions. That Yuan-chuang's brick hall was not an old building may also be inferred with probability from the statement that it contained a life-size image of the Buddha preaching, that is evidently, in the later heterodox standing position. This mountain, the Vulture Peak, was from the earliest times of Buddhism a favourite place of resort for serious meditative bhikshus, and the Buddha seems to have retired to it occasionally with his immediate disciples. A vihāra grew up on the mountain, probably near the site of the hall mentioned by Fa-hsien, and a Vinaya treatise tells of the Buddha giving the Brethren there permission to make permanent water-courses for the supply of water to the establishment.[1] The Gṛidhrakūṭa is in some books given as one of the five mountains which surrounded Rājagṛiha, but it is also represented as a part of the north mountain, and near the east side of the city. King Bimbisāra, we are informed, from his prison window in the city, could see the Buddha and his disciples on the mountain, but this statement need not be taken literally. We also find mention of the Buddha being at the Sūkarakhatā on the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain with the disciple Śāriputra.

The pilgrim goes on to tell us that to the west of the north gate of the "Mountain City" was the *Pi-pu-lo* (Vipula) mountain. According to local accounts, he adds, on the north side of the south-west declivity there had once been 500 hot springs, of which there remained at his time several scores, some cold and

[1] Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 50.

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some tepid. The source of these springs was the Anavatapta Lake to the south of the Snow Mountains, and the streams ran underground to this place. The water was beautifully clear, and it had the same taste as that of the Lake. The fountain stream flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot wells, and this made the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carved stones such as heads of lions or white elephants, or they had stone aqueducts to lead the water into tanks made of stone slabs. People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, and often went away healed of old maladies. About the springs were the foundations of topes and temples in close succession, and and also the sites of sitting and exercise places of the Four Past Buddhas. This place having a succession of hill and stream was a hermitage of benevolence and wisdom, and in it were hidden many scholars unknown to the world. To the west of the Hot Springs was the *Pi-po-lo* (Pippala) Cave in which the Buddha often lodged. Through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur's Palace in which bhikshus practising samādhi lodged notwithstanding the strange sights which drove some of them mad. We then have a story of a bhikshu and a small female of the Asur's Palace. The pilgrim adds— "On the Vipula Mountain is a tope on the spot where the Buddha once preached; many Digambaras now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly; they turn round with the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting."

The "Mountain city" of this and other passages of the Records is evidently the city known as "Old Rājagaha", and the Girivraja of certain non-Buddhist writers. According to the "Hsing-chi-ching"[1] and the Pali authorities the Vipula mountain of the present passage was one of the five mountains which stood round Old Rājagaha city. But in certain other treatises it is merely a mountain near that city, and is an occasional resort of the Buddha.[2] Fa-hsien does not mention it or the Hot Springs, but the Sung pilgrim tells of the mountain to the north of Rājagaha with above twenty hot springs at its base. A contemporary of our pilgrim, the Chinese ambassador Wang Hsüan (or Yuan)-tsê, washed his head in one of these springs, and for five years afterwards his hair retained a

[1] *Ch.* 48.

[2] Pie-yi-Tsa-a-han-ching *ch.* 16.

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remarkable glossy cleanness.[1] Our pilgrim's *Pʿi-po-lo* (畢鉢羅) cave is apparently the Pippala or Peepul Cave of other writers. Fa-hsien and the Sung pilgrim visited this cave in a mountain which was evidently the Vipula of our text. In some books, however, the Peepul cave is placed in the Vulture-Peak Mountain. In his translation of the last paragraph of the present passage Julien makes the pilgrim describe the Digambaras as circumambulating the Buddhist tope all day. But this does not seem to be the proper interpretation of Yuan-chuang's words— 自旦至屠旋轉觀察— "from sunrise to sunset they revolve and watch". It was the sun which these Digambara devotees, like others already mentioned, followed in his daily course, turning with him, and observing him in all his journey from rising to setting.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that to the left of the north gate of the mountain city on the north of the south cliff there, going east two or three *li*, you come to the large cave in which, Devadatta went into Samādhi. Near this was a flat rock, stained as if with blood, and beside it was a tope. This was the spot at which a bhikshu, practising samādhi, committed suicide, attaining arhatship in the act. We have then the story of this desponding bhikshu's proceeding. To the east of this spot, on a cliff, was a stone tope to commemorate the suicide of another bhikshu in order to attain arhatship. The pilgrim then narrates the circumstances of this suicide, telling how the Buddha wrought a miracle to encourage and help the fervent bhikshu in accomplishing his pious design.

The Devadatta-samādhi Cave of this passage is apparently the Devadatta Cave of Fa-hsien, the situations being similar.[2] It was probably in this cave that the ambitious Devadatta practised samādhi with the design of attaining supernormal powers, and thus becoming perfectly equal to his cousin, the Buddha.

The reader will observe that in the passage now under notice the pilgrim narrates with evident approval the accounts of suicide committed, at the places he mentions,

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[1] Fang-chih *ch.* 2.

[2] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 30.

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by two bhikshus, and that he represents the Buddha as assisting the second bhikshu in carrying out his deliberate intention of taking his own life. Fa-hsien tells of a bhikshu wearied and disgusted with mortal life committing suicide, and the "black rock" of his story is evidently the red-stained rock of our text, and his bhikshu is the pilgrim's bhikshu who takes his own life at the rock. But Fa-hsien represents the bhikshu as knowing that suicide was prohibited to a follower of Buddha, and as getting over this difficulty by saying to himself that in taking his own life he is only killing the three venomous enemies of spiritual perfection. I-ching has some very interesting observations on the tendency of some Buddhist Brethren to encourage suicide, and even to put their teachings into practice.[1] But both he and Fa-hsien seem to go too far when they allow their readers to suppose that there is in the Vinaya any express prohibition against a bhikshu taking his own life.

> Our pilgrim's description proceeds to tell that above one *li* from the north gate of the "Mountain city" was the Kalanda Bamboo Park with the original lodging (*ching-shê*) of stone and brick opening to the east; in this Ju-lai lodged much while as Buddha he was preaching and converting, and it contained a life-size image of him of recent origin. Once, the pilgrim explains, there was in this city a great citizen named Kalanda who had given his Bamboo Park to Tīrthikas. But when he came under the Buddha's influence he was sorry he had given away the Park to these persons, and wished he could have it again that he might give it to the Buddha. The gods, knowing Kalanda's earnest desires, wrought on his behalf, and frightened the Tīrthikas into giving up the Park. When they had withdrawn from it the owner built a lodging (*ching-shê*) in the Park, and gave all to the Buddha who accepted the offering at once.

The *ching-shê* of this passage is evidently the *ching-shê* of the early translators, that is, monastery or vihāra. Here Yuan-chuang gives to the famous Buddhist establishment outside the north wall of Old Rājagaha its

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei *chs.* 38. 39.

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common designation in the Chinese translations, viz—Kalanda Bamboo Park. His version of the story of the establishment follows mainly the accounts given in certain books such as the "Chung-pên-ch'i-ching".[1] These describe the Bamboo Park as the property of a rich and influential man of Rājagaha who gives it to the Tīrthikas. On his conversion to Buddhism he takes the Park back with the help of Yakshas, builds a hall and lodging-places in it, and gives the whole to the Buddha. But in some versions of the story the Bamboo Park was the property of king Bimbisāra, and it was he who gave it to the Buddha and his order.[2] This king, while a prince, had taken a fancy to the Park then owned by a rich subject; the Prince wanted to buy it, but the owner refused to sell, and the Prince vowed to have it when he became king. In due course he ascended the throne, and then proceeded to take possession of the Park; the owner dying vowed to have revenge in his next birth: he came back into the world as a poisonous serpent, and watched for an opportunity to bite the king. This came one day when the king lay down to sleep in the Park under a tree while his attendants were wandering about. The serpent came out, and was proceeding to bite the king when a *squirrel* (or according to other versions *jays* or *magpies*) made a noise, and saved the king. As this squirrel (or the bird) was called Kalantaka (or Kalandaka) the king ordered that the animal should be allowed to live in security and that its name should be given to the Bamboo Park.[3] In the "Shan-hsien-lü" it is the king of Vaiśāli whose life is saved in this Park by a squirrel; and it is this king who perpetuates memory of the act by giving the name Kalantaka to the village of the Park. The Pali name is Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa, that is, the Bamboo Park the squirrel's (or jay's) Portion, and this

[1] *Ch.* 1; Fo-pên-hsing-ching *ch.* 45.

[2] Fo-shuo-chu-fên-shuo-ching *ch.* 2 (No. 946); Yin-kuo-ching *ch.* 4; Ssŭ-fên-lü *ch.* 33.

[3] Chung-hsü-ching *ch.* 11; Sar. Vin. P'o-séng-shih *ch.* 8; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 43.

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corresponds to the name in a Chinese translation, *Chio-fêng* (鵲 封) or Magpie fief. This Bamboo Park, which as Fa-hsien tells us,[1] was on the west side of the highway about 300 paces from the north wall of Old Rājagaha, was the chosen residence of anchorites, and all devoted to solitary religious meditation. It was also a favourite residence of the Buddha, and it was the first piece of property acquired by the young Buddhist Order. It was a charming place not too near the city, still by day and quiet at night, away from the noise and bustle of common life; it had tanks of clear cold water; the air was mild; there were no stinging insects; and it was in all respects a place eminently adapted for deep and prolonged religious meditation.[2] The vihāra in it did not belong to the original establishment, and is not mentioned among the residences of the Buddhist Brethren at or near Rājagaha in the Buddha's time. In one treatise it is said to have been built by Indra at the request of Moginlin.[3]

> Our pilgrim's description proceeds to tell that to the east of the Bamboo Park was the tope which king Ajātaśatru built over his share of the Buddha's relics; when king Asoka having become a believer took out these relics for the topes he was about to build, a remnant was left, which constantly shone with a bright light.

The meaning of the text here seems to be tolerably clear, yet Julien has apparently misunderstood the latter part of the paragraph. He translates— "Le roi Açoka ayant conçu une foi sincère, ouvrit le monument, prit les reliques, et bâtit [à son tour un autre] *stoupa.* [On en voit] encore les restes, qui repandent constamment une lueur brillante". The words which I have enclosed within square brackets are not required and injure the sense. Yuan-chuang does not state that Asoka built here a tope the remains of which were still visible and shed a brilliant

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[1] Fo-kno-chi *ch.* 30.

[2] Chung-a-han-ching *ch.* 36; Pali Vinaya, Vol. 1. p. 39.

[3] Fu-kai-chêng-hsing-so-chi-ching *ch.* 9.

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light. He says that when Asoka took away the relics from Ajātaśatru's tope to build topes over them, there was a remnant left, which constantly shone with a brilliant light. In the Life the account of the matter is very clear. "Asoka, having become a believer, wishing to build topes everywhere, extracted the relics, leaving a few behind; and these now are constantly emitting a brilliant light." In a curious sūtra of the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka group the fortunes of Ajātaśatru's share of the Buddha's relics is thus narrated. The king placed the relics together with a copy of the sūtra, written on gold cloth, in a box made of precious substances; this box he deposited in a trench dug outside Rājagaha, and over it he built a splendid tope; then 100 years afterwards king Asoka came to Rājagaha, dug out the box, and took the relics for his 84000 Buddha-relics topes.[1] We have already had a reference to this curious legend of Asoka's topes, (above p. 21).[2]

The pilgrim proceeding with his description tells us that at the side of Ajātaśatrus's tope was one over the half-body-relics of Ānanda. He continues—About five or six *li* south-west from the Bamboo Park, on the north side of the South Mountain in a great Bamhoo wood, was a large cave. Here Mahā-Kāśyapa with 999 great arhats after the Buddha's death compiled the Tripiṭaka. In front of the cave were the foundations of the large Hall which king Ajātaśatru built for the arhats. Yuan-chuang then proceeds to give a short account of the summoning and composition of this Council and of its work. He adds that the Tripiṭaka then drawn up was called the "President's Collection" because Kāśyapa was *president* of the Brethren. To the north-west of this cave, he continues, was a tope on the spot where Ānanda attained arhatship before joining in the formation of the canon. Above twenty *li* to the west of this was an Asoka tope at the place where the canon of the Great Congregation was compiled. Those Brethren, arhats and others, some myriads in number, who were not admitted to Kāśyapa's Council assembled here. They said among themselves— "While Ju-lai was living we all had one Teacher, now he is dead we

[1] Ta-sa-cha-ni-kan-tzŭ-so-shuo-ching *ch.* 10 (No. 179).

[2] On the origin and history of this legend see Rhys Davids's article in the J. R. A. S. for 1901. (pp. 397—410) on 'Asoka and the Buddha-relics'.

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are put aside as strangers; to requite Buddha's kindness we must compile a canon". So the common brethren and Arhats united and drew up a fivefold Canon of Sūtras, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Miscellaneous, and Dhāraṇis; this was called the "Great Congregation's Collection" because Arhats and common brethren formed the assembly by which it was drawn up.

The account here given by our pilgrim of the original formation of the Buddhist canon merits some attention. He agrees with Fa-hsien in giving as the place of Kāśyapa's Council a cave in the north side of the South Mountain (the Dakshiṇa-giri or Dakkhiṇa-giri) to the north of Old Rājagaha. Fa-hsien calls the cave *Ch'ê-ti* (車 帝),[1] which may be the *Cha-ti* (刹 帝) of a Vinaya treatise, and perhaps for the Pali *chetiya*.[2] The account of the First Council given in the canon merely says it was held at Rājagaha. The Mahāvaṁsa makes the Council to have been held in the Sattapaṇṇi cave in the Vebhāra mountain;[3] the "Sarvata Vinaya" and certain other treatises describe the Council as meeting in the Pippala Cave on the Gṛidhrakūṭa[4] and this is probably the Nyagrodha cave of Rockhill's Tibetan authority;[5] and other places are given in other works.

Our pilgrim makes the Council to have been composed of 1000 members. This is the number given in the "Ta-chi-tu-lun",[6] but the earliest account gives only 500.[7]

Passing over the pilgrim's fanciful account of the summoning and formation of the Council we come to the words which I have translated "the President's Collection" (Shang-tso-pu). The text reads—"At the end of two or three months the compilation of the Tripiṭaka was finished; because Mahā-Kāśyapa was president among the Brethren, they called

[1] Fo-kuo-chi *ch.* 30.
[2] Sêng-ki-lü *ch.* 32.
[3] *Ch.* 3.
[4] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih *ch.* 39; Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-chuan *ch.* 1 (No. 1340).
[5] Rockhill, 'Life', *ch.* V.
[6] *Ch.* 2.
[7] 'Vinaya Texts' III. 372, 385.

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it the President's collection" (兩三月盡集三藏訖以大迦葉僧中上座因而謂之上座部焉). Julien translates— "Au bout de deux ou trois mois, la collection des trois recueils se trouva achevée. Comme Mahā Kāśyapa avait eu, au milieu des religieux, le titre de président, on appela son école *Chang-tso-pou* (Sthaviranikāya)". Here the introduction of the words "son école" seems to violate the construction and to make an anachronism. In like manner the words *ta-chung-pu* (大衆部) in the passage which follows seem to mean "the Collection of the Great Congregation", and not "l'école de la Grande Assemblée" as Julien translates. It was the Scriptures declared by Kāśyapa's Council to be canonical which were called the Sthaviranikāya or Shang-tso-pu, and these together with the additions made by the excluded Brethren constituted the Mahāsaṅghika-nikāya. Yuan-chuang's words seem to imply that two sets of Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma were drawn up, but this is perhaps more than he meant to state. The mixed majority Brethren accepted all that the Sthaviras pronounced canonical, and we find it expressly stated that the Vinaya settled by Kāśyapa's Council was called the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.[1] But there were various discourses or teachings which the Sthaviras excluded from their canon; and some of these were declared by the mixed majority of Brethren, with Pūrṇa (or Purāṇa) at their head, to be canonical. Such scriptures came to be called Mahāsaṅghikanikāya-āgama, and we find them quoted by this name in the śāstras of Buddhist writers.[2] The Chinese word *pu* translates the Sanskrit word Nikāya in its senses of *group of persons* and *collection of scriptures,* but we know that the Sthavira and Mahāsaṅghika *Schools* did not arise until after the time of Kāśyapa.

Proceeding with his narrative the pilgrim tells us that above 200 paces to the north of the Bamboo Park Chapel (*ching-shê*)

[1] Questions of Śāriputra (No. 1152).

[2] Shê-ta-shêng-lun, *ch.* 1 (No. 1183).

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was the Kalanda Tank now without any water. Two or three *li* to the north-west of this was an Asoka tope beside which was a stone pillar, above 50 feet high, surmounted by an elephant, and having an inscription recording the circumstances of the tope. Not far to the north-east from this was Rājagṛiha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood out prominently and were above 20 *li* in circuit with one gate. King Bimbisāra had his capital at Kuśāgrapur which was constantly afflicted by disastrous fires; on the advice of his statesmen this king made a law that the inhabitant with whom a fire originated was to be banished to the cemetery. When a fire broke out in the palace he made his heir king, and went to live in the cemetery. Hearing this the king of Vaiśāli proceeded to invade Magadha, whereupon this city was built, and the inhabitants of Kuśāgrapur all removed to it, and because the place had been the abode of their king the city came to be called "the king's abode" (Rājagṛiha). But there was another story which ascribed the building of this city to Ajātaśatru whose successor made it his capital. When Asoka removed the seat of government to Pāṭaliputra he gave Rajagṛiha to the brahmins, and so the only inhabitants of the city were 1000 brahmin families.

The legend which Yuan-chuang here relates about the founding of Rājagṛiha in the time of king Bimbiśāra is apparently a distortion of the legend about the founding of Old Rājagṛiha, the Kuśāgrapur of our author.[1] Another city, the name of which is not given, was afflicted by frequent conflagrations, and the inhabitants removed to the site on which they built Rājagṛiha. There are, however, various explanations of the name given by later commentators or historians.[2] The old city called Rājagṛiha is represented as a very ancient one, the third in the history of the world.[3] That New Rājagṛiha was the work of Bimbisāra or his son and successor seems to agree with some of the Buddhist scriptures.

In the south-west corner of the "Palace city" were two small monasteries in which Brethren from other countries got lodging. North-west from these was a tope at the place where the house-

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1 Ta-chi-tu-lun, *ch.* 3.

2 Sar. Vin. Vibhāshā, *ch.* 2.

3 Ta-lu-t'an, *ch.* 6.

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holder (Elder) Jyotishka was born. On the left side of the road, outside the south gate of the city, was a tope where Buddha preached and ordained Rahula.

The name Jyotishka of this passage, transcribed as *Chu-ti-se-ka* or Jotiska, is explained in a note as meaning "Heavenly body" (*hsing-lih* 星曆), and an old transcription is given as *Shu-t'i-ka*. Our pilgrim here calls Jyotishka an "Elder", using that word apparently in the sense of grihapati or "householder". This is the term applied to him in the Mahāvastu.[1] But in other works Jyotishka is a very remarkable layman who enters Buddha's church and becomes an arhat. His story is an interesting and curious romance related with certain variations in several treatises. An extremely wealthy man of Rājagriha (or Champā) whose wife was with child was told by the Kshapaṇaka (or Tīrthikas), to whom he was devoted, that the offspring would be a daughter. But Buddha told the man that his wife would give birth to a son who would join the Buddhists, become very distinguished, and attain arhatship. Listening to the wicked talk and counsel of the Tīrthikas the husband killed his wife, and had her body taken to the cemetery to be buried. When the corpse was blazing the baby was seen, and at Buddha's request Jīvaka ventured into the fire and rescued the infant. As the father refused to take charge of his son the latter was at Buddha's request, adopted by king Bimbisāra, and Buddha gave him the name Jyotishka because he had been saved from *fire* (Jyotis). In the course of time the boy was claimed by his maternal uncle, and he rose to be a man of wealth and magnificence beyond imagination. In his house the walls were of silver and the floors of crystal, the furniture was of gold and other precious substances, his slaves were of heavenly beauty, and unseen devices wrought visible wonders. King Ajātaśatru coveted the house and its contents, and Jyotishka in order to avoid

[1] Mahāvastu T. II, p. 271 gives only the story of Jyotishka's previous existence.

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trouble gave away everything in alms, then entered the Buddhist church and rose to be an arhat. All the temporal and spiritual greatness of this man was explained by the Buddha as the result of religious merit acquired by him in the time of a Buddha who belonged to an era in the far off past.[1] This story of Jyotishka does not seem to be known to the Pali scriptures so far as these are at present accessible.

The narrative proceeds. From the Rāhula tope a journey of above 30 *li* brings one to the Nālandā Monastery. The tradition was that in a Mango wood to the south of this monastery was a tank the dragon of which was called Nālandā and that his name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lai as a P'usa had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nālandā or "Insatiable in giving" on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to the monastery. The grounds of the establishment were originally a Mango Park bought by 500 merchants for ten koṭi of gold coins and presented by them to the Buddha. Here soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one Vehicle and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathāgatagupta built a third monastery; and to the north-east of this king Bālāditya added a fourth. At the formal opening of this last monastery Brethren from all quarters were present by invitation of the king, and among these strangers were two who said they were Chinese. When the king went to visit these latter they had disappeared in a mysterious manner, and His Majesty was so affected by the incident that he abdicated and joined the Buddhist fraternity [in the monastery he had built]. The rule of seniority placed him below all the Brethren, and he

[1] This account is taken chiefly from the Fo-shuo-shu-t'i-ka-ching (No. 543), with which the Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 28 (No. 114) is in general agreement. The Wu-pai-ti-tzŭ-tzŭ-shuo-pên-ch'i-ching (No. 729) has no mention of a miraculous birth, and the disciple relates his karma. The whole story is told at great length in the Jyotishkāvadāna of the Divyāv. (XIX). See also Rockhill's 'Life' p. 65 and 94; Bud. Text S. Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 12 and B. Texts Appx. p. 43.

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did not like this change in his social position. He put his case before the ordained Brethren who thereupon made a rule that members of the establishment who were not fully ordained should rank according to age, a rule which is found in this monastery and in no other. To the west of this monastery Bālāditya's son and successor Vajra built another; and to the north of this a king of Mid India afterwards erected a large monastery. Then round all there was built a lofty enclosing wall with one gate. In this establishment, the work of a succession of sovereigns, the sculpture was perfect and really beautiful. "In the monastery built by Śakrāditya", the pilgrim continues, "there is now an image of Buddha and every day 40 Brethren are sent to take their food there to requite the bounty of the founder". In the establishment were some thousands of Brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous; the Brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their Order; they were looked up to as models by all India; learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. If among them were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka such persons, being ashamed, lived aloof. Hence foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name [of Nālandā Brother] were all treated with respect wherever they went. Of those from abroad who wished to enter the schools of discussion the majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdrew; and those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding. The pilgrim then gives the names of some celebrated men of Nālandā who had kept up the lustre of the establishment and continued its guiding work. There were Dharmapāla and Chandrapāla who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings, Guṇamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation among contemporaries, Prabhamitra of clear argument, and Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jñānachandra of model character and perspicacious intellect, and Śīlabhadra whose perfect excellence was buried in obscurity. All these were men of merit and learning, and authors of several treatises widely known and highly valued by contemporaries.

Here we have an interesting but unsatisfactory account of the great Buddhist establishment at Nālandā, the name of which is not even mentioned in Fa-hsien's narrative. But the establishment was visited by the Sung pilgrim

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who located it 15 *li* north from the site of Jyotishka's house which was in Rājagṛiha. The Life places it above seven yojanas north-east from Mahābodhi, and this is in agreement with I-ching's account. Cunningham's identification of Nālandā with the modern village of Baragaon is well known, and it may be correct. The journey from Gayā to Nālandā was probably one of between 50 and 60 miles, and between Rājagṛiha and Nālandā was a Mango Park with a tank.

Our pilgrim does not accept the explanation of the name Nālandā which derives it from that of the dragon of the tank in the Mango Park, but I-ching was satisfied with this explanation.[1] Yuan-chuang prèferred the Jātaka story which referred the name to the epithet "Insatiable in giving (na-alam-dā)" given to Buddha in a former existence as king of this country. In the Buddhist scriptures, however, we find mention of a Nālandā village near Rājagṛiha with a Pāvārik (or Pāvā) Mango Park in Buddha's time;[2] and the word *āmra* (mango) seems to be used as the name of the original owner of the site of the Nālandā establishment.

Our pilgrim mentions six monasteries as having been built here by as many kings, and as forming the Nālandā establishment in his time, but the last of these, the one erected by the king of South India, is not in the "Fang-chih". The story of the two Chinese pilgrims appearing at Bālāditya's inauguration of his monastery is not clear, and the sudden disappearance of these Brethren is not explained. This king, the pilgrim tells us, became a member of the Buddhist fraternity, but we are apparently to understand that he only joined his own monastery as a lay-brother. Then being the last lay novice he was below all the other members of the establishment, and his pride was wounded. So the monks made a rule that

[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Chavannes, 'Mémoires' p. 84.

[2] Maj. Nik. Vol. 1, p. 371; Chung-a-han-ching, *ch.* 32, 55. See also Dīgha 1, 211, 212; II. 81—84 (translated in Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Suttas', p. 12—15).

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in their monastery "unordained members were to rank according to their age" (未受戒者以午齒爲次). Julien apparently understood these words to mean that the lay members were to rank among themselves according to age, but this would not help the king's position as "ranking after the Brethren" (位居僧末). Further, the text for "in the original monastery of king Śakrāditya there is now an image of Buddha" is "Ti-jih-wang-pên-ka-lan-chê-chin-chi-Fo-hsiang (帝日王本伽藍者今置佛像). Julien having 曰 for 日 translates — "Le roi dit: Dans le couvent fondé par le premier roi (le couvent de *Nālanda*), je vais placer aujourd'hui la statue du *Bouddha*". This is a most unhappy rendering, and the bad text cannot be held responsible for all its faults. In the next sentence of Julien's translation the future tense should be substituted for the present, and the inverted commas should be removed from the paragraph. The words are Yuan-chuang's statements, and are not put in the mouth of a king. It is probable that the Śakrāditya monastery was in ruins when Yuan-chuang visited the place, and that the forty Brethren were sent from another vihāra to eat their breakfast at it, to keep up the memory of the establishment and its founder. At I-ching's time there were only the foundations of this monastery visible.

In his description of the high tone and austere lives of the Nālanda Brethren Yuan-chuang writes—"If there were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka such persons, being ashamed, kept aloof". The Chinese is—其有不談三藏幽旨者則形影自愧矣. Julien's rendering is—"S'il y avait des hommes incapables de traiter les matières abstraites des trois recueils, ils étaient comptés pour rien et se voyaient couverts de honte". This is not fair to the devout students, as there is nothing in the text to show that they despised their idle brethren. The latter felt they were without companions, alone and miserable. Our pilgrim's expression about them was apparently suggested by the saying of an old statesman who described his lonely sorrow to the emperor by the words *hsing-ying-*

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hsiang-tiao (形影相弔), "he and his shadow having to exchange condolences". Finding their indolence isolated them the idle Brethren "felt ashamed of themselves". Further in the translation here given of Yuan-chuang's account the words—"Of those from other lands who wished to enter the schools for discussion the majority, beaten by the difficult problems, withdrew", are in Julien's rendering—"Si un homme d'un autre pays voulait entrer et prendre part aux conférences, le gardien de la porte lui adressait des questions difficiles. Le plus grand nombre était réduit au silence et s'en retournait". The text is—殊方異域欲入談議門者詰難多屈而遼學淵窓今古乃得入焉. In Julien's rendering of this passage the words *mên-che*, it will be seen, are severed from the preceding words to which they belong and are taken in the sense of *janitor* or *porter*. Julien's text, however, may have had *shou-mên-che* (守門者), meaning "gate-keeper", which is the reading in the Fang-chih. But in the A, B, and D texts the reading is simply *mên-che*, and C has 閤 which is evidently a misprint. The continuation of the sentence in the original has been given above, and it will be seen that context and construction require the interpretation here given which is also that of native scholars. The phrase *ju-mên* is a very common one in popular and literary use, and means to *join a school* or *enter a trade or profession*. Here the pilgrim tells his reader that of those who came from other countries to Nālandā in the desire of becoming disputants—religious controversialists—the majority went back beaten by the difficult problems, while those who were profound in ancient and modern lore "obtained entrance", that is joined the schools of debate. But it is true that *mên-che* means a *janitor* and a disciple who acts as such.

Of the "great P'usas" here mentioned by Yuan-chuang as having rendered good service to Buddhism in Nālandā by their expository commentaries three are mentioned in other parts of the Records, viz. Guṇamati, Dharmapāla, and Śīlabhadra. Of these the last was the abbot of the

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Nālandā establishment at the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, and became the pilgrim's friend and teacher. Dharmapāla probably died about A. D. 600, and Guṇamati was much earlier. Contemporary with the latter apparently was another of the "great P'usas", Sthiramati. This scholar was the author of an "Introduction to Mahāyānism" which was translated into Chinese about A. D. 400; and he composed another short metaphysical treatise which was translated in A. D. 691.[1] Jinamitra, another of the "great P'usas", is known as the author of a valuable compendium of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins which we have in I-ching's translation.[2] The three other great luminaries of Nālandā cited by our pilgrim, viz. Chandrapāla, Jñānachandra, and Prabhamitra do not appear as authors of books in the collections of Buddhist works. The Jñānachandra mentioned by I-ching as one of the famous Brethren of West India at his time, and as attached to the Tiladha Monastery, may be the learned Brother of that name in the passage before us. I-ching mentions also Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, and Guṇamati in his list of the Buddhist sages who flourished in the period not long before his time. Mr. Takakusu makes him include also Sthiramati, but I-ching's text has An-hui which is the translation for Sthilamati. The latter was contemporary with Dharmapāla while Sthiramati must have lived before A. D. 400.[3] In Julien's translation of the part of the present passage which tells of the "great P'usas" of Nālanda we have "Çighrabouddha" as one of them. But this is an error of the translator, who mistook the words *ming-min* (明 敏) for a proper name. These words here form part of the descriptive statement about Jñānachandra "whose character formed an example of bright activity"; the clause is parallel to the next one which mentions the perfect virtue of Śīlabhadra, which was in dark seclusion.

[1] Bun. Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 1243, 1258, 1127.

[2] Bun. No. 1127.

[3] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34. Takakusu pp. 181, 225.

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The words *ming-min* are omitted from the account in the Fangchih.

> We now return to the pilgrim's description which proceeds to relate that all around the Nālandā establishment were 100 sacred vestiges of which two or three are to be briefly noticed. To the west was a temple at a place where the Buddha had lodged for three months and preached to devas and men, and above 100 paces to the south of this was a tope where a foreign bhikshu had visited Buddha. This bhikshu on meeting Buddha prostrated himself and prayed for rebirth as a universal sovereign; Buddha hereupon remarked with sorrow that as this man's merit was vast, and his faith firm, he would have attained Buddhahood if he had so desired. Now he would have to become a sovereign once for every atom of dust from the place of his prostration down to the "gold wheel". As he was given up to worldly joy the sacred fruit would be thus remote (that is, he would attain arhatship only after all these countless rebirths). To the south of this tope was a standing image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa, sometimes seen with a censer in the hand performing pradakshiṇa to Buddha's temple. To the south of this was a tope which contained the shaven hairs and nail-clippings of the Buddha for three months; and devotees who performed pradakshiṇa to this tope were often cured of their ailments. Near the tank outside the west wall was a tope where a Tīrthika holding a small bird in his hand asked Buddha about life and death. South-east from this and above 50 paces within the wall was a remarkable bifurcated tree, according to the A and C texts 80 or 90 (but according to B and D eight or nine) feet high. This tree, the height of which never varied, had grown from a tooth-stick thrown on the ground by the Buddha. To the east of the Tooth-stick tree was a large temple above 200 feet high where the Buddha had preached. To the north of this above 100 paces was a temple with an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa which believing worshippers saw in various forms and at different positions. To the north of this was a large temple above 300 feet high built by king Bālāditya. In its size and ornamentation and in its image of Buddha this temple resembled the one at the Bodhi Tree.

The Tīrthika with the small bird, *ch'io*, of this passage is mentioned also by I-ching who calls the man a brahmin and represents him as coming to question the Buddha. I-ching tells us also that the chaitya, about ten feet high, at the spot was called in Chinese the *Ch'io-li-fu-t'u* (雀

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離浮圖) or the Ch'io-li Tope.[1] In his account of the Buddha's Tooth-stick Tree here, as before, Yuan-chuang uses the common Chinese term *Yang-chih* or "Willow-branch" instead of the correct term *Chih-mu* or "Tooth-stick". This tree was afterwards seen by I-ching who is at pains to tell us that it was not a willow.[2] The Bālāditya Temple here mentioned was the Buddha Hall of the Monastery built by that king. In the Life this hall is placed to the north-east of Nālandā. It is probably the Bālāditya chaitya which I-ching describes as very beautiful, and as containing an image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching.

> The pilgrim preceeds to relate that to the north-east of Bālāditya's Temple was a tope where Buddha had preached and to the north-west was a sitting-place of the Four Past Buddhas; to the south was a bronze (*t'u-shi*) temple in course of construction by king Śīlāditya. To the east of this above 200 paces and outside the wall of the establishment was king Pūrṇavarma's copper image of the Buddha more than 80 feet high in a six-storeyed building. Two or three *li* north from this was a brick temple with a large image of Tāra P'usa, a popular object of worship. Within the south gate of the wall was a large well which had been miraculously produced in the Buddha's lifetime. To the south-west of the Nālanda sanghārāma, eight or nine *li*, was the town *Kou-li-ka* (Kolika) in which was an Asoka tope; this was the place of Mudgalaputra's birth and death. This leads to an account of the conversion and ordination of Mudgalaputra and his friend Śāriputra. Three or four *li* to the east of Kolika, the pilgrim continues, was a tope at the place where king Bimbisāra came in great state to meet the Buddha on the latter's first visit to Rājagṛiha as Buddha. Above twenty *li* south-east from this was *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka* town with an Asoka tope; this was the birth place of Śāriputra, and the scene of his death. The pilgrim then tells the story of Śāriputra's birth, his religious life, and his final passing away.

In this passage our pilgrim calls the birth place of Maudgalyāyanaputra Kolika (or Kulika) and describes it as being eight or nine *li* to the south-west of Nālandā.

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[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 8. Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1.

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In the Life the place is called the "Monastery (i. e. Nālanda) Village", and it is represented as being seven yojanas north-east from the Bodhi Tree; the Mahāvastu calls it Kolitagrāmaka and places it half a yojana from Rājagṛiha.[1] In the "Hsing-chi-ching"[2] and other works the name is Kolika as here, and in the Sarvata Vinaya it is *Lin-yuan* (林 園). "Wood-Garden" or Lin-wei (園). "Wood-inclosure".[3] Kolita, a designation of Maudgalyāyanaputra, was probably derived from the name of his native town. But it is translated into Chinese by *T'ien-pao* (天 抱) or "Carried in the arms by devas",[4] and into Tibetan by *Paṇ-skyes*, the "Lap-born" of Csoma's rendering.[5] The name which Yuan-chuang gives here for Śāriputra's birth-place does not seem to be known to other authors. Julien restores the *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka* of the text as Kālapināka, but this is merely a conjecture. It is apparently only another name for the Nāla (or Nālada) of Fa-hsien and other Buddhist writers. Yuan-chuang's town was 20 *li* south-east from the Bimbisāra tope which was on the south side of Nālandā, and the village of Nāla, the Nālagrāma of some Pali writers, was above 20 *li* south-east from Nālandā.[6] In the Mahāvastu the birthplace of Śāriputra is called Nālandagrāmaka and it, like Mudgalaputra's home, is placed half a yojana from Rājagṛiha. Fa-hsien places Nāla one yojana to the east of this city,[7] and this agrees with Yuan-chuang's location of his Ka-lo-pi-na-ka. Another name given to Śāriputra's birth-place is Upatishya (or Upatissa), which is also his own proper name.[8]

Going back to our pilgrim's narrative, it proceeds to tell us that four or five *li* south-east from the town of *Ka-lo-pi-na-ka*

[1] T. III, p. 56.
[2] *Ch.* 48.
[3] Tsa-shih, *ch.* 18.
[4] Sar. Vin. Ch'u-chia-shih, *ch.* 1.
[5] As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 49; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 44.
[6] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 18.
[7] Mahāvastu III, 56. Foe-kuo-chi, *ch.* 28.
[8] Hardy M. B. p. 200.

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was a tope at the place where, according to one story, a disciple of Śāriputra, and according to another legend three Koṭis of Kāśyapa Buddha's arhats passed away for ever. At a distance of above thirty *li* east from this tope was the Indra-sālaguhā or Indra's Cave Mountain. This mountain, whose sombre gorges were covered with vegetation, had two peaks, and in the precipitous south side of the west peak was a broad low cave in which the Buddha often lodged. While the Buddha was staying here once (or according to another reading, from time to time), Indra delineated on a stone 42 doubts which he wished to have solved, and Buddha gave the solutions; the marks still existed. The image [of Buddha] recently made here is after the old sacred style. On the east peak of this mountain was a monastery, and the Brethren in it saw lights burning before the Buddha image in the cave of the peak opposite. In front of this monastery was the *Hêng-sha* (or Haṃsa) that is Wild-goose Tope. The Brethren of this monastery had been Hīnayānists and so "Gradualists", who accepted and observed the rule as to the three lawful kinds of flesh for food. It happened, however, on one occasion that these kinds of food were not to be had; a Brother walking up and down saw a flock of wild geese flying overhead. He said aloud in joke—"To-day there is no breakfast for the Brethren; the Mahāsattva must know the right time". Before he had finished speaking one of the wild geese, dropping to the ground, gave up his dead body for the Brethren. The bhikshu went and reported the matter to them, whereupon all were greatly moved. They said among themselves—Jū-ḷai preached and taught the right thing at the right occasion—with dogged stupidity we have followed the "gradual" teaching—it is the "Great Vehicle" which is the right system and we must give up our former tenets and follow the holy ordinances—this wild goose has come to warn us, and be our true guide, and we must make a lasting memorial of its substantial merit. So the goose was buried, and this tope was erected over its body.

The mountain of Indra's Cave of this passage has been indentified by Cunningham with the small isolated mountain of Fa-hsien, and both with the modern Giryek.[1] But this double identification, as Fergusson has pointed out, is open to objections.[2] In a sūtra of the Dīgha Nikāya and in the corresponding Chinese texts, Indra's Cave was in

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India', p. 471.
[2] J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 229.

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the mountain called Vediyaka, to the north of the Āmra-Park Village on the east of Rājagṛiha, and in the north side of the mountain.[1] The Cave of the canonical books could not have been in the side of a precipice, as Buddha is represented in them as walking up and down in front of it in conversation with Ānanda.[2] Then Yuan-chuang represents the mountain as being covered with a dense growth of vegetation, and the Vediyaka mountain was, at least in the Buddha's time, without any trees to give shade and shelter to the bhikshus. Indra once visited Buddha in the cave in this mountain, and the god came attended by the Gandharva musician and a company of other gods. On this occasion Indra stated his doubts and difficulties to Buddha who replied to them one by one. This visit had no connection with one paid to the Buddha on the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain by the same Gandharva musician by name Pañchasikkha. Fa-hsien's small isolated hill may be, as Ferguson supposes, at Behār, although the difference in distance is very great. Yuan-chuang's Indra-Cave mountain may possibly be the Videha of other writers, by mistake for Vediyaka. In the sūtras which tell of Indra's questions there is no mention of the number 42, nor is there any writing down of question or answer.

The very interesting passage, here condensed in translation, about the Brethren in the monastery with the Hamsa tope, to which reference has been made in a previous chapter, deserves the attention of students of Buddhism. Here we have in Magadha a community of Buddhist monks, which had been following the Vinaya as it has come to us in the Pali language, giving up suddenly one of its rules as unworthy of their creed and unorthodox. The Brethren in the Monastery had adhered to the rule prescribed by Buddha that flesh-food might be taken if three specified conditions were fulfilled. One day they

[1] Dīgha Nikāya II. 263, 269; Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 10; Fo-shuo-shêng-ching, *ch.* 2.

[2] Sêng-ki-lü, *ch.* 28.

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could not get any animal food lawful for them to eat; a thoughtless Brother seeing wild geese flying overhead said jesting — The Brethren today have no breakfast, the Mahāsattva must know the right time". Julien missing the drift of the whole passage makes the joking bhikshu address the others saying — "Aujourd'hui, la pitance des religieux est insuffisante. *Mo-ho-sa-to* (Mahāsattvas—nobles êtres), il faut que vous sachiez que voilà le moment". There is no point or sense in this latter sentence, and bhikshus are not styled Mahāsattvas. The Mahāsattva of the speaker was evidently the candidate for future Buddhahood, and as such he was to be ready to give up his life in charity at the right opportunity. While the bhikshu was speaking a goose, being it is to be supposed a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva in that incarnation, fell from the flock, and gave up his body for food to the hungry monks. These, however, were so moved with sad feelings that they could not cook the goose; they buried it and became Mahāyānists. As such they gave up the "gradual" system which allowed of exceptions and relaxations in rule and doctrine. They were henceforth to observe the strict rule that flesh was not to to be eaten by then in any circumstances. This is the Mahāyānists' version of Buddha's teaching, but in the Vinaya, as has been seen, he expressly allows fish and flesh to his disciples on the three conditions of not having seen, not having heard, and not having had suspicion.

Our pilgrim's narrative goes on to state that a journey of 150 or 160 *li* north-east from the mountain of Indra's Cave brought him to the Kapota (or Kapotaka) Ka-lan or Pigeon Monastery. The Brethren of this establishment, over 200 in number, were disciples of the Sarvāstivādin school. To the north-east of the monastery was an Asoka tope, and the pilgrim tells the foolish unBuddhistic story which accounted for the name of the monastery. He goes on to state that two or three *li* south from the Pigeon Monastery was a tall isolated hill well wooded and abounding in flowers and streams; on the hill were numerous sacred buildings with miraculous powers and executed with consummate art. In the central temple was a small image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa, majestic and grave, holding a lotus in

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one hand, and having an image of Buddha above his forehead. Devotees fasted seven or fourteen days, or even a month, in the earnest desire of seeing the P'usa, and those who came under his influence beheld him in all his grandeur emerge from the image and address to them comfort and counsel. This temple was erected by a king of Ceylon who one morning looking into his mirror saw, not himself, but this P'usa in a tāla wood on a small hill in Magadha; deeply affected the king made search and found the image here like the one in his mirror; so he erected this temple and established worship. Other princes followed his example and built temples by its side, and religious services with flowers and music have been kept up continuously. A journey of above 40 *li* south-east from this hill brought one to a monastery with above fifty Brethren all Hīnayānists, and near to this was a miracle-working tope. To the north-east of this monastery above 70 *li* and on the south side of the Ganges was a large populous town with elegant Deva-Temples; near the south-east side was a large tope where the Buddha had once preached. Going east from this, and passing for above 100 *li* over hill and through wood, the pilgrim reached the *Lo-pan* (or *yin*)-*ni* (or *yi*)-*lo* town. In front of the Monastery here was a large Asoka tope on the spot where the Buddha had preached for three months; north of this two or three *li* was a large tank above thirty *li* in circuit with lotus flowers of the four colours blooming in all seasons.

According to the Life the marvellous image of the Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa here mentioned was made of sandal-wood, and it was enclosed by railings; the worshippers tried their fortune by casting flowers and garlands at the image. At the present day worshippers of Kuan-yin P'usa in many parts of China may be seen throwing a flower, or a small silk scarf, or some other small article, at the image of the P'usa; and the response to the worshipper's prayer is read in the fate of the object thrown.

The name of the town here given as *Loh-pan-yi* (or *Lo-pan-ni*)-*lo* (洛般膩羅) was in Julien's text *Lo-yin*(般)-*ni-lo* and he restored this as Rohinīla. The restoration has of course been adopted by subsequent writers, but it cannot be accepted; the reading *-yin-* is found only in the B text, A, C, and D all having *Lo-pan-ni-lo*. These syllables may represent an original like Lāvaṇīla, but

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there is no hint as to the meaning of the word, and it may have been Lavaṇanīla.

Our pilgrim here writes of lotus-flowers of four colours, but commonly only three colours are mentioned; these are the red, white, and blue lotus-flowers, and each of these has a variety of names. But we read of four varieties of lotus-flowers in one tank, and these four are usually represented as the padma (which is red), the utpala (blue), the puṇḍarīka and kumuda (which are white).

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CHAPTER XVI.

CHUAN X.

I-LAN-NA-PO-FA-TO COUNTRY.

The narrative in the Records relates that from the monastery of the town *Loh-pan-ni-lo* (Lavaṇanīla?) the pilgrim journeyed east through a mountain forest for more than 200 *li* to the *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* country. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, which was 20 *li* in circuit, on its north side was close to the Ganges. The region was fertile with a genial climate and inhabitants of honest ways; there were above ten Buddhist monasteries and more than 4000 Brethren the most of whom were Hīnayānists of the Sammitīya school; there were above twenty Deva-temples and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. In recent times the king of a neighbouring state had deposed the ruler and given the capital to the Buddhist Brethren, erecting in the city two monasteries each of which had about 1000 Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin school. Beside the capital and close to the Ganges was the *I-lan-na* mountain, the dark mists of which eclipsed sun and moon; on this an endless succession of rishis had always lodged and their teachings were still preserved in the Deva-temples; moreover the Buddha had lived here, and preached his religion to devas and men. To the south of the capital was a tope where Buddha had preached, and to the west of this was the tope of the bhikshu *Shi-lu-to-pin-shê-ti-kou-ti* (Śrotaviṃsatikoṭi) at the place where he was born. The pilgrim then relates the well-known legend about this disciple. He then goes on to describe that in the west of this country to the south of the Ganges was a small isolated mountain with two tall summits one above the other. Here the Buddha once kept the Summer Retreat, and reduced to submission the yaksha *Po-ku-lo* (Bakula); at the foot of the south-east ledge were traces of Buddha's sitting on a large rock, above which was a tope. On a rock

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adjoining this on the south side were traces of the Buddha's water-jar which he had placed on it, the traces being above an inch deep and forming an eight-whorled flower. A short distance to the south-east of the Buddha's sitting-place was a footprint of Bakula, one foot five or six inches long, by seven or eight inches wide and nearly two inches deep. Behind this was a stone sitting image of the Buddha about six feet high; and on the west side of this was an exercise-place of Buddha. On the top of this mountain was the old house of the Yaksha, and to the north of this was a foot-print of Buddha at which was a tope. The Yaksha Bakula when overcome by Buddha promised to give up the killing of human beings and the eating of flesh, he then became a Buddhist, and on his death was reborn in Heaven. To the west of this mountain were six or seven springs the water of which was very hot. In the woods among the mountains in the south of this country were numerous large wild elephants.

The name given by our pilgrim to the country here described, viz— *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* has been restored by Julien as *Hiraṇyaparvata*, or "Golden Mountain", and the restoration has been blindly accepted. The latter part of this restoration is apparently correct, but *I-lan-na* cannot be taken to represent Hiraṇya, nor is there anything *golden* in the country or mountain in the pilgrim's description. The syllables *I-lan-na* apparently stand for *īraṇa* which denotes a piece of *wild or barren land.* We find the word used by Nāgārjuna who compares a Brother living in violation of the Vinaya to an īraṇa (*i-lan*) in a wood of sandal trees.[1] In the Life *I-lan-na*, or as we may provisionally restore the word, Īraṇa is used to designate the country. St. Martin, followed by Cunningham and Fergusson, identifies this region with the modern district of Monghyr.[2] In the statement that the capital "on its north side was close to the Ganges" I have followed the D text which has *lin* (臨), *near to.* Instead of this the other texts have *lu* (路), *a road*, which does

[1] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 13. But in this, as in some other passages, *i-lan-na* is probably the name of a tree disliked and avoided on account of its offensive odour.

[2] Julien III, p. 386; A. G. I. p. 476; Fergusson op. c. p. 234.

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not seem to make good sense. Our pilgrim, we learn from the Life, remained at the capital a year studying the "Vibhāsha-lun" (No. 1279) and the "Abhidharma-shun-chêng-li-lun", (No. 1265). His teachers were apparently Tathāgatagupta and Kshāntisiṃha, two prominent Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin Monasteries of which he makes mention. In the notice of the Īraṇa mountain in the above passage the pilgrim describes it as "having dark mists" which eclipsed sun and moon. For the words within inverted commas the original is *han-t'u-yen-hsia* (含吐煙霞) literally "holding ejecting smoke-mists". Julien's translation is "d'ou sortent des masses de fumée et des vapeurs". This is much more than is in the text, which is merely a poetic expression for "over the mountain hang dark clouds which efface sun and moon". As the mountain had always been inhabited it could not have been an active volcano.

The bhikshu whom Yuan-chuang in the above passage calls Śrotaviṃsatikoṭi, translated by him "Heard 200 *yi*", and of whose life he gives a few wellknown particulars, was a famous arhat among the disciples of the Buddha. In the canonical books he is a native of Champā and his death, according to Yuan-chuang, took place in the Konkanapur country. The "200 *yi*" of our author is a mistake for twenty *yi*, that is, twenty Koṭi, and for Śrota we should have Śroṇa apparently, the name of the constellation under which the bhikshu was born.[1] The chief circumstances of his life are given in the Vinaya, and he is to be distinguished from another disciple named Śroṇakoṭikarṇa (Soṇakūṭikaṇṇa) also mentioned in the Vinaya.[2]

The small isolated hill of the present passage which was in the west of Īraṇa was identified by Cunningham with the hill now called Mahādeva. But Dr. Waddell has

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[1] M. B. p. 254; Pali Vinaya 1. 179; Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 38; Rockhill, 'Life', p. 72; Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 13 where the name given is that of the other disciple.

[2] Pali Vinaya 1. 194; Sar. Vin. P'i-ko-shih; Ssŭ-fên-ly l. c.

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given reasons, which seem to be conclusive, against this identification and in favour of his own suggestion that the hill is Mount Uren.[1] Is it possible that in the latter name we have a corruption of Īraṇa? The Fang-chih makes the small isolated hill to have been one *li* or about 1/5 of a mile in length. The Yaksha Bakula (or Vakula) of this hill does not seem to be known to the Buddhist scriptures. But in these we read of a carnivorous anthropophagous Yaksha whom Buddha reduced to submission, converted, and received into his religion.[2] In the Chinese translations this Yaksha lived in *Kuang-ye* (壙 or 曠 野) that is, the wild *wilderness* or *uninhabited country*. The Sanskrit original for Kuang-ye is Aṭavi, and this is apparently the Alawee of Bigandet and the Alawaka of Hardy. But it cannot be the Īraṇa-parvata country of our pilgrim, which was to the east of Rājagaha, whereas the Kuang-ye was to the west of that city.

CHAMPĀ.

The pilgrim, continuing his narrative, relates that from the Īraṇaparvata country he proceeded east, following the south bank of the Ganges, and after a journey of above 300 *li* he came to the *Chan-p'o* (Champā) country. This the pilgrim describes as above 4000 *li* in circuit, with its capital more than 40 *li* in circuit, situated on the south side of the Ganges. There were some tens of monasteries mostly in ruins, and there were above 200 Brethren all Hīnayānists. At the beginning of this kalpa, he relates, when men were homeless savages, a goddess came down from Heaven, and after bathing in the Ganges became pregnant. She bore four sons, who divided the world among them, and built cities, and the first city built was Champā. To the east of the capital about 140 *li* on the south side of the Ganges was a high islet on which was a Deva-temple, a place beautiful and enchanting.

The statement here made by Yuan-chuang that Champā was the first city built on the renovation of the world is found in several of the Buddhist scriptures, but without

[1] A. G. I. p. 476; J. A. S. Ben. 1892 Pt. I, p. 1.

[2] Ta-pan-nie-p'an-ching, *ch.* 15 (No. 114).

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the story of the goddess.[1] In the scriptures we find the Buddha often visiting this city, and lodging at the tank called Gaggarā, in Chinese transcriptions *Ka-ga* or *Ga-ga* (揭伽 or 伽伽).[2] The country was ruled for a time by the Aṅga dynasty, and it is called the Aṇga country, but in the Buddha's time was subject to Magadha.[3] Fa-hsien makes Champā to have been 18 yojanas east from Pāṭaliputra down the Ganges, and on the south side of that river; he calls it a large country; he mentions topes at the site of Buddha's *ching-shê*, that is, vihāra, and exercise ground, and at the sitting-place of the Four Buddhas with resident Brethren.[4] In several of the Buddhist scriptures the capital of this country is represented as a large and flourishing city. The transcription of the name given here by our pilgrim, *Chanp'o* (瞻波 or 婆), is that used by Fa-hsien; another way of transcribing the name is *Chan-p'o* (占波). Cunningham has identified the city Champā of this passage with the modern Bhāgalpur, and this identification has been accepted.[5] But Champā was the name given also to a large district which apparently included our pilgrim's Īraṇaparvata as we find the scene of the story of the Buddha and Śroṇavimsatikoṭi laid in Champā. Īraṇa and Champā are also mentioned together as having a great supply of war elephants.

KA-CHU-WÊN(?)-K'I-LO.

From Champā, the pilgrim proceeds to relate, he travelled east above 400 *li* to the *kie(ka)-chu-wên(?)-k'i-lo* Country. This country was above 2000 *li* in circuit, low and moist, yielding good crops; the climate was warm and the people were straight forward; they esteemed superior abilities and held learning in

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[1] Ta-lu-t'an-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 551).

[2] Dīgh. Nik. Vol. I, p. 111 (P. T. S.); Sam. Nik. Vol. I, p. 195; Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 15; Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 2.

[3] Chang-a-han-ching, *ch.* 5; Vinaya Texts Vol. II, p. 1 and note; Sar. Vin. P'o-sêng-shih, *ch.* 16, 17. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India', p. 24.

[4] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 37.

[5] A. G. I. p. 477; Fergusson J. R. A. S., Vol. VI. 1873. c. p. 235.

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respect. There were six or seven Buddhist Monasteries and above 300 Brethren; the Deva-Temples were ten in number and the various systems lived pell-mell. The native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under a neighbouring state, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when king Śīlāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court here, he cut grass to make huts, and burned these when leaving. There were many wild elephants in the south of this country. In the northern part of the country, not far from the Ganges, was a lofty belvedere built of stone and brick; its base was broad and high, and its artistic ornamentation was exquisite; on each of its sides were carved images of holy beings, the Buddhas and the devas being made different in appearance.

The name of the country here described by our pilgrim is "Kie-schou-ou-khi-lo" in Julien's transcription. This agrees with the reading in the D text which is 羯朱喝祇羅, but instead of the third character of this transcription (read *wu* or *wo*) the other texts have 唱, which is properly pronounced *wên* or *mên*. The Fang-chih agrees with the D text; and in one text of the Life we have *mo* (末) instead of *chu* and the name is given as *Ka-mo-wu-k'i-lo*. As we are told to pronounce the character for *wên* here as *wo*, and as this character is used in another place to transcribe the syllable *ut* or *ū*, we should perhaps read the name here *Ka-chu-wo-k'i-lo*. Julien restores the Indian original as Kajughira, and this restoration has been generally followed, although it seems to leave out the third character. In a note to our text we are told that the popular name for the country was *Ka-ying-kie-lo*. Julien's reading here was apparently *Ka-shêng-kie-lo* which may be the correct reading. This would give us an original like Kajangala, and Kajangala or Kajangalā is the name of a place in this neighbourhood mentioned in very early Buddhist Pali texts.[1]

Cunningham makes the country of our passage to be Kānkjol now Rājmahal, and Fergusson fancies that "the place must be sought for either at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or somewhere between these places". In the T'ang-Shu

[1] [See J. R. A. S. 1904 pp. 86—88.]

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we have the name of a country given as in our text except for the omission of the character for *khi*, probably a slip of the copyist. There this country is described as being 400 *li* south-west from *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*, in the east of "Mid-India", and on the south of the Ganges.[1]

For the last clause of the above passage Julien has—"Sur les quatre faces de la tour, on a exécuté en bas relief, dans des compartiments séparés, les images des saints, des *Bouddhas* et des *Dêvas*". This does not seem to express the author's meaning, which seems to be that the images of the Buddhist worthies, or of the Buddha, were of a different character from those of the devas. The phrase *chü-pie* (區 別) which we have met already, is explained as meaning *yi-chung* or "of different kinds", and we read of the *chü-pie*, distinctive differences of the 80 000 axioms of Buddhism.

PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA.

Our pilgrim's narrative proceeds to relate that from *Ka-chu-wu-khi-lo*, travelling east, he crossed the Ganges, and after a journey of above 600 *li* reached the *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* country. This country, he tells us, was above 4000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was more than thirty *li* in circuit. The country had a flourishing population. Tanks, hospices, and flowery groves alternated here and there; the land was low and moist, and crops were abundant. The Jack-fruit was plentiful but still held in esteem, and we have a description of the fruit. The climate of the country was genial; the people respected (in one text, liked) learning. There were twenty Buddhist Monasteries and above 3000 Brethren by whom the "Great and Little Vehicles" were followed; the Deva-Temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell, the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous. Twenty *li* to the west of the capital was a magnificent Buddhist establishment the name of which is given in some texts as Po-shih-p'o (跋 始 婆), while the D text of the Life has *Po-kih-p'o* (跋 姞 波) and the other texts have *Po-kih-sha*. In this monastery, which had spacious halls and tall storeyed chambers, were above 700 Brethren all Mahāyānists; it had also many distinguished monks from "East India". Near it was an Asoka tope at the place where Buddha had preached

[1] A. G. I. p. 478; Fergusson op. c. p. 238; T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 43.

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for three months; and near that were traces of the Four Buddhas having sat and walked up and down. Not far from this spot was a temple with an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'u-sa which gave supernatural exhibitions, and was consulted by people from far and near.

The name of the country here described, *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*, has been restored as Puṇḍravardhana, but the word which Yuan-chuang heard and transcribed was evidently Puṇṇavaddhana or Puṇyavardhana. The country so called is apparently the Puṇḍavardhana of the Asokāvadāna in which Asoka put to death a great multitude of naked sectarians for doing despite to Buddhist worship.[1] In the Chinese translation the name is transcribed as *Fun-na-p'o-t'ê-na*, that is, Puṇṇavaddhana, but it is translated *Chêng-tsêng-chang* (正增長) that is, Puṇyavardhana, "Correct increase".[2] We also find mention of a town and wood called *Tsêng-chang*, but these were in Kosala.[3] According to the T'ang-Shu Punnavardhana was 1200 *li* south-west from Kāmarupa, and 400 *li* north-east from *Ka-chu-wu-khi-lo*.[4] Cunningham proposed to identify the country of the present passage with the modern district of Pubna (Pabna); but Fergusson dissents from this view, and regards the country as corresponding rather to the modern Rungpur (Rangpur), both places being in the Bengal Presidency.[5]

KA-MO-LU-P'O (KĀMARŪPA).

The description in the Records proceeds to relate that from *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* the pilgrim travelled east above 900 *li*, crossed a large river, and came to *Ka-mo-lu-p'o*. This country was more than a myriad *li* in circuit, and its capital above thirty *li*. The country was low and moist; the crops were regular; the Jack-fruit and Cocoa were in great esteem though plentiful; there were continuous streams and tanks to the towns; the climate

[1] Divyāv. p. 427.
[2] A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 3.
[3] Sar. Vin. Yao-shih, *ch.* 8.
[4] *Ch.* 43.
[5] A. G. I. p. 480; Fergusson op. c. p. 238.

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was genial. The people were of honest ways, small of stature and black-looking; their speech differed a little from that of "Mid-India"; they were of violent disposition, and were persevering students; they worshipped the devas, and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly; the Deva-Temples were some hundreds in number, and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents. The reigning king, who was a brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva, was named Bhāskaravarma ("Sun-armour"), his other name being Kumāra ("Youth"); the sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1000 generations. His Majesty was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example; men of ability came from far lands to study here; though the king was not a Buddhist he treated accomplished śramaṇas with respect. The narrative next relates how the pilgrim while at Nālandā on his return journey accepted king Kumāra's invitation to pay him a visit, the circumstances of which are related in Chapter XI of this work.

To the east of Kāmarūpa, the description continues, the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao. The pilgrim learned from the people [of Kāmarūpa] that the south-west borders of Szŭchuan were distant about two months' journey, but the mountains and rivers were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs. In the south-east of the country were wild elephants which ravaged in herds, and so there was a good supply of elephants for war purposes.

The *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* restored as Kāmarūpa of this passage is represented, it is agreed, by the modern Kamrup or Western Assam with its capital Gohati.[1] In the T'ang-Shu this country, called according to some texts *Ka-mo-p'o*, is described as being 1600 *li* to the west of Upper Burmah, beyond the Black Mountains, and in East India; also as lying 600 *li* to the south-east of Puṇḍavardhana with the river *Ka-lo-tu* between that country and Kāmarupa.[2] We find also in the T'ang-Shu a country called *Ko-me-lu* (箇 没 盧) or Kāmru(?) which was in the north

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 500; Fergusson op. c. p. 238.

[2] T'ang-Shu l. c.

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confines of "East India", and 1200 *li* to the north-east of Puṇḍavardhana. The river *Ka-lo-tu* of the T'ang-Shu may be the "large river" of the present passage which is possibly the Brahmaputra. Alberuni places far to the east of Kanoj a country called Kāmrū, the mountains of which stretch away as far as the sea.[1] This is supposed to be Kāmarūpa but the description is not satisfactory. The country bearing this name was not, as the Chinese place it, in "East India", but was, as it is called in a Samudragupta inscription, a frontier country.[2] We need not suppose that the pilgrim made the journey indicated in the text of our present passage, and his statements as to distance and bearing are not necessarily to be treated as authoritative. There is nothing, however, in the text of our passage to indicate that the pilgrim did not actually visit the country here described.

SAMATAṬA.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Kāmarūpa Yuan-chuang went south, and after a journey of 1200 or 1300 *li*, reached the country of *San-mo-ta-t'a* (Samataṭa). This country, which was on the sea-side and was low and moist, was more than 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It had more than 30 Buddhist Monasteries and above 2000 Brethren all adherents of the Sthavira School. There were 100 Deva-Temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous. Near the capital was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached seven days for devas and men. Beside this were vestiges of a sitting and an exercise place of the Four Buddhas. In a monastery near this spot was a dark-blue jade image of the Buddha, eight feet high, showing all the distinctive characteristics and exercising marvellous powers. The pilgrim then names in succession six countries beyond Samataṭa; these were not visited by him but he gained information about them at Samataṭa. These six countries are—(1) *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* to the north-east among the hills near the sea, (2) south-east from this on a bay of the sea *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, (3) *To-lo-po-ti* to the east of the pre-

[1] Alberuni Vol. I, p. 201.

[2] Cor. Ins. Ind. Vol. III, p. 14.

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ceding, (4) east from To-lo-po-ti was *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, (5) to the east of this was *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*, the *Lin-yi* (林邑) of the Chinese, and (6) to the south-west of this was the *Yen-mo-na-chou* country.

Cunningham regarded the Samataṭa of this passage as being the district of "the Delta of the Ganges and its chief city which occupied the site of the modern Jessore".[1] Fergusson considers it to be the Dacca district the former capital of which was Sonargaon.[2] We should probably place it south of Dacca, and in the district of the modern Faridpur. I-ching, who uses our pilgrim's transcription of the name, merely places the country in East India.[3] He calls the king at his time *Hoh-lo-she-po-t'a* (曷羅社跋咤) which M. Chavannes restores as Harshabhaṭa. But the first three characters are, as he states, used to express Rāja, and the King's name was probably Rājabhaṭa. This king was an enthusiastic adherent and patron of Buddhism, and the number of Brethren in the capital had risen, from the 2000 in our pilgrim's time, to 4000 who were all maintained by the king. Yuan-chuang tells us that the Brethren in the capital were of the Sthavira School, and at the time of I-ching's visit they were evidently strong Mahāyānists, but, as our pilgrim uses these terms, there is nothing conflicting in the two accounts.[4]

Of the six countries mentioned in the passage under notice as heard of, but not visited by our pilgrim, *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, which has been restored as Śrīkshetra or Śrīkshatra, is the *Shih-li-cha-to-lo* of I-ching. This has been identified with the Burmese *Tharekhettara* or the district of Prome.[5] But this identification requires the substitution of *south-east* for the pilgrim's *north-east* which is the read-

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[1] A. G. I. p. 501.

[2] op. c. p. 242.

[3] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 2 and Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 128 and note.

[4] See above p. 138.

[5] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1: Takakusu, Int. p. LI and note, and p. 9;

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ing of all the texts, of the Life, and of the Fang-chih. For this reason and because Prome is far from the sea the identification cannot be accepted. Śrikshatra according to the pilgrim's information should correspond roughly to the Tipperah district. The *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, restored as Kāmalaṅkā, is supposed to be I-ching's *Lang-ka-su*, and it is said to be "Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi". *To-lo-po-ti* is the city with this name to which Shan-ts'ai went in order to consult Mahādeva its patron god.[1] It is also supposed to be I-ching's *She-ho-po-ti* (社和鉢底). M. Chavannes gives the first character the exceptional sound *t'u*, and Mr. Takakusu has apparently done the same.[2] Our pilgrim's *To-lo-po-ti* has been restored as "Darapati?", and as Dvārapati or Dvāravati, "the Sanskrit name for Ayuthya or Ayudhya the ancient capital of Siam", but the characters seem to stand for Tālapati, that is, Mahādeva.[3] I-ching's *She-ho-po-ti* may be for a name like *Javapati*. The *I-shang-na-pu-lo* of our text, restored as Īśānapura, has been identified with Cambodia and with the *Poh-nan* or *Fu-nan* of I-ching. *Mo-ha-champ'o* or Mahā-champā is the *Chan-p'o* of I-ching corresponding to the modern Cochin-China and part of Annam. *Yen-mo-na-chou* is evidently for Yamana-dvīpa, but no probable identification has yet been proposed, for it cannot possibly have been the island of Java.

TAN-MO-LIH-TI.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Samataṭa the pilgrim journeyed west for over 900 *li* to *Tan-mo-lih-ti*. This country was about 1400 *li* in circuit; its capital,

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Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 57 note. See also Phayre's History of Burmah p. 32 note.

[1] Hua-yen-ching (No. 88), *ch.* 68.

[2] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Chavannes, 'Mémoire', p. 58 note.

[3] The *Tu* (or *Shê*)-*ho*-*lo*-*po*-*ti* of another passage of the Hsi-yü-ch'iu is restored by Chavannes as Dvāravati, and the *she* 社 of the texts may be for *tu* (杜).

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above ten *li* in circuit, was near an inlet of the sea; the land was low and moist, farming was good, fruit and flowers abounded, the climate was hot, the customs of the people were rude, the inhabitants were courageous, and they were believers in Buddhism and other systems. Of Deva-Temples there were more than 50, and the Non-Buddhists lived together pell-mell. There were above ten Buddhist Monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. The country formed a bay where land and water communication met; consequently rare valuables were collected in it and so its inhabitants were generally prosperous. Beside the capital was an Asoka tope and near this were vestiges of the Four Past Buddhas' sitting and exercise grounds.

The *Tan-mo-lih-ti* of this passage is for Tammalipti which corresponds to the Tāmralipti of other writers and perhaps also to the modern Tumluk. Fa-hsien travelled east to this place from Champā, and he estimated the distance as fifty yojanas.[1] I-ching, who remained here for some time, describes the Port as being 60 or 70 yojanas east from Nālandā.[2] Tāmralipti was the place of disembarkation for travellers to India from China by sea, and it was here that I-ching and other Chinese pilgrims landed, and from it voyagers started on their return to the south and to China.[3] Fergusson gives reasons for dissenting from the common opinion that Tumluk is the modern representative of Tāmralipti, and considers that Satgaon answers better to the requirements.[4] But a more recent investigator, Śrī Rajendra Lal Gupta, has traced the history of the old Tāmralipti and its modern continuation Tumluk.[5] There seems to be little reason for doubting that this latter is on or near the site of the Tammalitti or Tāmralipti of the Chinese pilgrims and other old writers,[6] the physical features of the district

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 37.

[2] Chavannes, 'Mém.', p. 97; Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1.

[3] Takakusu pp. 185, 211; Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34 and 40; Chavannes, 'Mém.', p. 71; Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1.

[4] op. c. p. 243.

[5] J. Bud. Text S. Vol. V. P^{t}. II, p. 4.

[6] See 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 504; J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LXVI, p. 102.

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having in the course of centuries undergone some changes.

KARṆASUVARṆA.

The pilgrim goes on to tell that from Tāmralipti he travelled north-west for over 700 *li* to the *Kie(ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* (or Karṇasuvarṇa) country. This was about 4450 *li* in circuit and its capital was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country was well inhabited and the people were very rich. The land was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant; the climate was temperate, and the people were of good character and were patrons of learning. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya School; there were 50 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. There were also three Buddhist monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Beside the capital was the *Lo-to-wei* (or *mo*)-*chih* Monastery, a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren. It had been erected by a king of the country before the country was converted to Buddhism to honour a Buddhist śramaṇa from South India who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system also from South India. This bullying braggart had come to the city and strutted about with his stomach protected by copper sheathing to prevent him from bursting with excessive learning, and bearing on his head a light to enlighten the ignorant and stupid. He prevailed until the king urged the stranger śramaṇa to meet him in discussion, the king promising to found a Buddhist monastery if the śramaṇa were victorious. Near this monastery were several topes built by Asoka at spots where the Buddha had preached and also a shrine (*ching-shê*) where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise.

This passage presents some serious difficulties. According to the narrative in the Life our pilgrim did not go from Puṇḍavardhana east to Kāmarūpa, thence south to Samataṭa, thence west to Tāmralipti, and thence north-west to Karṇasuvarṇa, but he went straight from Puṇḍavardhana south-east 900 *li* to Karṇasuvarna, from that on south-east to Samataṭa, and thence west above 900 *li* to Tāmralipti. But there is nothing in the text of the Records to indicate that the pilgrim did not actually proceed by the route which he has described in the text of our passage.

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Notwithstanding the statements of our text, however, we must consider him to have travelled in the manner indicated in the Life. His location of Karṇasuvarṇa in the passage before us is not in agreement with the rest of the narrative, and we must apparently regard that place as 700 *li* to the *north-east* instead of north-west of Tāmralipti. The name of the country, wrongly rendered by the pilgrim "Gold ear", and the name of its wicked king Śaśāṇka, with whom we have met already, are found in the Gupta Inscriptions.[1] The country was evidently at one time a large and powerful kingdom, and a rival of Magadha.

With reference to the Brethren who abstained from the use of milk, curds, and as articles of food our pilgrim's statement that they did so as followers of Devadatta may have been the suggestion of a Mahāyānist Brother. All Mahāyānists were supposed to abstain from milk food, and I-ching states expressly that it is unlawful food.[2]

The magnificent monastery near the capital, of which the pilgrim gives some account, is called by him in some texts *Lo-to-wei-chih* (絡多未和) explained as meaning "Red clay", and Julien restores the original as Raktaviṭi. But the correct reading is *Lo-to-mo-chih* (末 instead of 未), that is Raktāmṛita, in Pali Rattamattikā, which means "Red clay". The haughty conceited pundit with copper sheathing to keep his learning in his stomach, and the light on his head in pity for the ignorant people who lived in darkness, occurs in several Buddhist works. One of the best known of these men is the father of Śāriputra, the description of whom recalls in several points the passage in our text, but Śāriputra's father overcomes his competitor in discussion.[3]

Cunningham thought that the chief city of this country "must be looked for along the course of the *Suvarna-riksha*

[1] Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions', p. 283. Here he is a Mahāsāmanta or Mahārāja.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1; Takakusu, p. 43.

[3] Ta-chih-tu-lun, *ch.* 10.

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river, somewhere about the districts of *Singhbhūm* and *Barabhūm*", and he adds—"Bara Bāzār is the chief town in Barabhūm, and as its position corresponds very closely with that indicated by Hwen Thsang, it may be accepted as the approximate site of the capital in the seventh century".[1] Fergusson does not accept this identification and writes—"The kingdom of Karna Souvarna, I take it, comprehended the northern part of Burdwan, the whole of Birbhūm, and the province of Murshidabad, including all those parts of the districts of Kishnaghur and Jessore which were then sufficiently raised above the waters of the Ganges to be habitable".[2]

WU-T'U (OṬA).

Continuing his narrative Yuan-chuang tells us that from Karṇasuvarṇa he travelled south-west above 700 *li* and came to the *Wu* (or *U*)-*t'u* (烏荼) country. This, he states, was above 7000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit; the soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners different from the people of "Mid India"; they were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethren all Mahāyānists. Of Deva-Temples there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell. There were more than ten Asoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the south-west of the country was the *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li* (restored by Julien as "Pushpagiri") monastery in a mountain; the stone tope of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other miracles, sunshades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the amalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the north-east of this tope in a hill-monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels. The miraculous power of these topes was due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings. Near the

[1] See 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 505.

[2] op. c. p. 248. See also Dr. Waddell's Note on king Śaśānka in his "Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classical capital of Pāṭaliputra".

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shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city *Che-li-ta-lo* (Charitra?), above twenty *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20 000 *li* distant in the south was the *Sêng-ka-lo* (Ceylon) Country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.

In the Life the pilgrim is represented as going south-west not from Karṇasuvarṇa but from Tāmralipti to *Wu-t'u*, and the distance between these two places is not given. If we understand Karṇasuvarṇa to have been to the north-east of Tāmralipti the difference between the statement in the Records and that in the Life is not important, as Tāmralipti would be south-west from Karṇasuvarṇa and between it and *Wu-t'u*. The country which Yuan-chuang calls by this name, pronounced Uḍa or Oḍa, has been identified with Uḍra or Oḍra, the modern Orissa. Fergusson thinks that the capital may have been on the site of the present Midnapur. The *Che-li-to-lo* of this passage is apparently, as Julien restores it, Charitra. It is translated in a note to the text by *Fa-hsing* (發行), which may mean "setting out", that is, on a voyage or journey; and the city is supposed to have received this name because it was a starting place for navigators and land-travellers. But the Fang-chih gives as the translation of the word *Chiao-hsing-che* (孝行者) which may mean "having religious observances", and this seems to agree with the common use of the word *Charitra*. Moreover the pilgrim apparently does not describe the city as a starting-point or terminus of a journey; his words seem rather to indicate that it was a dêpot and caravanseray for traders and travellers to and from the seaports and also by land. Cunningham thinks that "Charitrapura was probably the present town of *Puri*, or "the city", near which stands the famous temple of Jagannāth". Fergusson regards the city as represented by the modern Tumluk

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which is generally taken to be the old city of Tāmralipti.[1] Dr. Waddell writes that at the time of our pilgrim's visit to this part of India "Yajapur was undoubtedly the capital of the country of 'U-cha'—the northern portion of Orissa". He adds—"Indeed the 'U-cha' of the pilgrim seems intended to represent the Sanskrit Yaja". This, however, is quite impossible as *Wu-t'u* or *U-t'a* (or *-ch'a*) could not be taken to transcribe *Yaja*. *Wu-t'u* is the reading of all the texts of the Records, and of one text at least of the Life. In the C text of the Life we have *-ch'a* which is often used for *t'u*, the characters represented by these sounds having formerly had a similar pronunciation. There can be little doubt that the name transcribed by *Wu-t'u* or *Wu-ch'a* was Oḍḍa or Oṭṭa.

As to the *Che-li-to-lo* of our text Dr. Waddell, after quoting Burnouf's translation of Yuan-chuang's description of the city, writes—"In the locality here indicated—in exact keeping geographically with the distances and directions noted by the pilgrim—in the Mahanadi delta, about 15 miles below Cuttack, we find the older channel of the great Mahanadi River is still known as the "Chitratola River", although no village or town of that name now exists on its banks. But at the highest point of this part of the Mahanadi channel, where the name of Chitratola still clings to this branch of the Mahānadī, at the village of Nendra, opposite Kendwapatana lock of the Kendrapara canal, the villagers point out the site of the old port on what is now a vast expanse of sand in the river bed". Dr. Waddell brings further evidence in support of his view that this vanished town of Chitratola was the *Che-li-to-lo* of the Records. He also thinks that Julien's restoration of *Charitra* is "doubtfully correct", and adds—"The original name seems more nearly to resemble or be identical with the still current name Chitratola". We may provisionally accept the site described by Dr. Waddell as that of our pilgrim's *Che-li-to-lo*, but while this transcrip-

[1] 'Anc. Geog. of India' p. 510. Fergusson op. c. p. 249.

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tion may possibly and probably stand for *Charitra* it cannot possibly be taken to represent a word like *Chitratola.*[1]

There is a remarkable contradiction between the statement in our text here, that the Brethren in this country were Mahāyānists, and the express declaration in an interesting passage in the Life that they were all Hīnayānists, although in the short account which it gives of the country the Life agrees with the Records in stating that they were Mahāyānists.[2] Now in the next century after our pilgrim the Buddhists in this country were evidently Mahāyānists. We find their king at that time copying out with his own hand, and sending as a religious present to the Chinese Emperor Tê Tsung, the Sanskrit text of the Mahāyānist treatise called "Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-hua-yen-ching". This curious beautiful sūtra on its arrival in China was translated into Chinese by the learned Kapin Brother named Prajñā, with the assistance of several learned Chinese Brethren, and presented to the Emperor in A. D. 795.[3]

KUNG-YÜ (*GU* OR *YA*)-T'O.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to tell us that from the Oṭa country a journey south-west, through a forest, for over 1200 *li*, brought the pilgrim to the *Kung-yü* (or *-gu* or *-ya*)-*t'o* country. This country was above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests, a hot climate. The people were tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful. Their written language was the same as that of India, but their ways of speaking were different, and they were not Buddhists. Deva-Temples were above 100 in number, and of Tīrthikas there were more than 10 000. The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant

[1] Dr. Waddell in 'Proceedings A. S. Ben.' Dec. 1892.

[2] *Ch.* 4: Julien I, pp. 184, 220.

[3] It is No. 89 in Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

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army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy. As the country was on the seaside it contained many rare precious commodities; the currency was couries and pearls; and the country produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys.

The *Kung-yü-t'o* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as *Konyodha* and this restoration has been accepted. But the characters (恭御陀) were pronounced *Kong-gu-t'o* or *Kong-ya-t'o* and the original was probably a word like Kongudha or Konyadha. In his translation of the text Julien makes the author state that —"Les frontières de ce royaume embrassent plusieurs dizaines de petites villes qui touchent à des montagnes, et sont situées au confluent de deux mers". But there is no word for *two* in the text aud the term *hai-chiao* (海交) here means "the meeting of sea and land". The pilgrim wished his readers to understand that the towns at one extremity "continued the hills" (*chie-shan-ling* 接山嶺), and at the other were on the sea-shore (據海交). This is also the sense in which the compiler of the Fang-chih understood the description. Cunningham and Fergusson agree in identifying *Kung-yü-t'o* with the district about the Chilka Lake, and the latter investigator thought that the capital "was situated to the northward of the Chilka lake and somewhere between Kuttack and Aska, where one of Asoka's great edict tablets still exists".[1] This *Kung-yü-t'o* of our pilgrim's narrtive may perhaps be the Kuṇḍya of the Hemakuṇḍya (called also Hemakuṭya) in the south-eastern division of the Bṛihat-Samhitā's topography.[2]

It is strange to find Yuan-chuang here describing *Kung-yü-t'o* as a great military country without a formidable enemy. At the time of the pilgrim's arrival in these parts, as we learn from the Life, this country had been invaded by Śīlāditya, king of Kanyākubja, and it was then

[1] A. G. I. p. 513: Fergusson op. c. p. 250.
[2] Fleet in Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII, pp. 171, 179.

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apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom. It will be noticed that the pilgrim, in this description of the country, does not tell us anything about the government.

KA-LENG-KA (KALINGA).

Returning to the narrative in the Records we read that from *Kung-yü-t'o* the pilgrim travelled, through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 *li*, to Kalinga. This country he describes as above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of *li*. The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid India". There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren "Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system". There were more than 100 Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being nirgranthas. This Country, the pilgrim relates, had once been very densely inhabited; a holy rishi possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country; as a consequence of this curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again, but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south wall of the city (i. e. the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present kalpa when men's lives extended over countless years.

The capital of the Kalinga of this passage has been identified by Cunningham with Rajamahendri on the Godāvari river.[1] Fergusson was of opinion that it was not very far from the Kalingapatam of our maps.[2]

The Divyāvadāna in giving the names of the kings who

[1] A. G. I. p. 516.
[2] op. c. p. 250.

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will be reigning when Maitreya comes places the names Kalinga and Mithilā side by side as the respective residences of different kings.[1] It must be a misunderstanding of some snch passage that lies at the root of the statement we find in some Buddhist treatises that Kalinga, with its capital Mithilā, was mentioned by the Buddha. In some Buddhist treatises we find a Kalinga with its capital Mithilā mentioned by the Buddha as one of the four places possessing inexhaustible treasures of precious substances.[2] But Mithilā was, of course the capital of Videha; and we find in older works such as the "Jātaka", the "Mahāvastu", and the "Dīgha", mention of a kingdom named Kalinga with its capital Dantapura ages before the Buddha's time.[3]

Our pilgrim's statement here about the desolation of the country caused by the curse of an offended rishi is derived from a sūtra. In this the Buddha asks Upāli if he knew why Daṇḍaka, Kalinga, and Mātanga became uninhabited wastes, und Upāli replies that he heard the desolation was caused by an incensed rishi. When this saintly hermit cursed the land in his anger the supernatural beings blighted and wasted all the region on account of the offence against him.[4]

In the above passage also it is to be noted that the pilgrim represents the Buddhist Brethren of Kalinga as students of the Sthavira system of the Mahāyānists, but in the description in the Life the term for Mahāyānists is omitted. The Buddha in a Tantra sūtra gives Kalinga as one of the twelve districts in which the "attainment of perfection may be sought".[5]

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[1] Divyāv. p. 61.

[2] Tsêng-yi-a-han-ching, *ch.* 49; A-na-pin-ti-hua-ch'i-tzŭ-ching (No. 649).

[3] Jāt. Vol. II, p. 367; Mahāvastu T. III, p. 361; Dīgha II, 167, 235.

[4] See Nos. 1238, 1239, and 1240. Compare Majjhima I, 378.

[5] Fo-shuo-ta-pei-k'ung-chih-chin-kang-ta-chiao-wang-yi-kuei-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 1060). See above p. 177.

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THE SOUTHERN KOSALA.

The pilgrim's description next proceeds to relate that from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kosala. This country, more than 6000 *li* in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being above 40 *li* in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10 000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists. Near the south of the city (that is apparently, the capital) was an old monastery with an Asoka tope where Buddha had vanquished Tīrthikas by the exhibition of supernormal powers, and in which Nāgārjuna P'usa had afterwards lodged. Contemporary with this P'usa was the king styled *Sha-to-p'o-ha* or "Leading-right" (*yin-chêng* 引正), who treated Nāgārjuna with ceremonious respect, and kept a guard at his residence. The record then tells of the visit made by Deva P'usa from Sengkala to this monastery in order to have a discussion with Nāgārjuna. When Deva arrived and requested to be admitted the disciple in charge of the door reported the circumstance. Nāgārjuna, who had heard of the visitor's fame, merely filled his bowl with water and gave it to the disciple to show to Deva. This last silently dropped a needle into the bowl, and dismissed the disciple. On learning this Nāgārjuna exclaimed—"He is a wise man! It is for the gods to know the hidden springs, and it is the sage who searches out their minute developments; as the man has such excellence call him in at once. What do you mean, asked the disciple,—is this a case of "Silence being eloquence"? Nāgārjuna explained that the bowl full of water typified his own universal knowledge, and the dropping of the needle into it typified Deva's thorough comprehension of all that knowledge. When Deva was admitted he was modest and timid, and he expressed his views clearly and distinctly, wishing to be instructed. Nāgārjuna said to him—"You as a scholar are above your contemporaries, and your excellent discourse sheds glory on your predecessors. I am old and feeble, and meeting one of such superior abilities as you I have a pitcher into which to draw water, and a successor to whom the continuous lamp may be handed over. You can be relied on for propagating the religion. Please come forward, and let us talk of the mysteries of Buddhism". Deva was proceeding to enter on an exposition when a look at the majestic face of Nāgārjuna made him forget his words and remain silent. Then he declared

himself a disciple, and Nāgārjuna having reassured him taught him the true Buddhism. Nāgārjuna had the secret of long life, and had attained an age of several centuries, with his mental faculties still flourishing, when he voluntarily put an end to his life in the following circumstances. The king *Yin-chêng* was also some hundreds of years old, and his life depended on that of Nāgārjuna by whom it had been prolonged. This king's youngest son became impatient to succeed, and learning from his mother the secret of his father's life, at her instigation he went to the great P'usa, and persuaded him that it was his duty to die on behalf of the young prince. Nāgārjuna, accordingly, cut his own head off with a dry blade of grass, and his death was immediately followed by that of the old king.

To the south-west of this country above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, which rose lofty and compact like a single rock. Here king *Yin-chêng* had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls; these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king's treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold. In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha, and the writings of the P'usas. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brethren. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine koṭi of gold coins. In later times the Brethren had disagreed, and had referred their quarrels to the king; then the retainers of the monastery, fearing that the establishment would become a prey to the lawless, excluded the Brethren, and made new barriers to keep them out; since then there have not been any Brethren in the monastery, and the way of access to it was not known.

The short account of Kosala, and the stories about its great Buddhist apostle, given in the passage here epitomized, are interesting in several respects. In the Life the country is called "South Kosala" apparently to distinguish it from the Kosala in the north of which Śrāvasti was the capital. Cunningham makes it to be "the ancient province of Vidarbha

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or Berār of which the present capital is Nāgpur",[1] and Fergusson seems to agree with Mr. Grant in regarding Chattisgarh as corresponding to the Kosala of our text, and Wyraghur as being the site of its capital.[2]

The stories which our pilgrim here tells about the relations of Nāgārjuna-p'usa with Deva-p'usa, and with the king of the country, are in harmony with certain legends, and receive some confirmation or illustration from these. Thus when Nāgārjuna tells his illustrious visitor Deva p'usa, by the exhibition of the full bowl, that nothing could be added to his knowledge, he is giving an instance of his claim to be "omniscient". In his Life we find him asserting that he knew all things, and even silencing sceptics by a conspicuous instance.[3] But in his attempt to produce an effect on Devā by the claim to omniscience he was not successful, for the silent parable of the needle taught him that Deva had fathomed all his learning. Then the story about the young prince who, acting on the advice of his mother, persuades Nāgārjuna to hasten his accession to the throne by committing suicide, agrees in essentials with the legend from Indian sources in the Tibetan books.[4] It was the king's knowledge of the fact that his own life depended on that of the "great scholar", that made him so ceremonious and attentive to Nāgārjuna as to keep a guard at his residence. Th this p'usa's life extended to a great length, even to several centuries, is also in accordance with some of the legends about him. He is represented in one account as living 529 (or more) years,[5] and he is generally supposed to have reached a very great age, prolonging his life by various expedients such as imbibing water through his nostrils.[6] So also our pilgrim's account of Nāgārjuna's proceeding

[1] A. G. I. p. 520.
[2] J. R. A. S. 1875 p. 260.
[3] Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (No. 1461); Wass. Bud. p. 232.
[4] J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LI, p. 115 ff.
[5] Tār. S. 73.
[6] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 8; Takakusu p. 34.

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in providing the king with abundant funds by the transmutation of rocks into gold is in harmony with that p'usa's reputation for a knowledge of alchemy.[1]

This Nāgārjuna is one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism. He appears in literature as a man of remarkable genius, as an almost universal scholar, a Buddhist religious enthusiast of rare liberality, a profound philosopher, a poet and author of great literary abilities, and an intense lover of his species. He was also according to one authority a king, but the statement is evidently a mistake. Yet notwithstanding his great fame we cannot pretend to have any precise information about the man's life, or his date, or his place of birth. He has even been regarded by one scholar, at least, as a fictitious personage, as only a name, and it seems possible that the legends tell of several individuals with the same name. But even the name is not beyond question. We have three Chinese terms, and one Tibetan term, purporting to be translations of it, but no one of these can be regarded as a correct rendering of Nāgārjuna. Thus the old and common Chinese term is *Lung-shu* or "Dragon-tree"; but it is admitted that *shu*, "a tree", is not the equivalent of *arjuna*, and it has been suggested that it stands for *ju* in an imperfect transcription of that word, *lung* being the Chinese for Nāga. We find *lung-shu* given as the name of an Indian tree, but in this use the term may be for nāgavṛiksha with the same meaning. Then we have our pilgrim's rendering, used also by I-ching, *Lung-mêng* (龍猛), or "Dragon-valiant", and there is the earlier rendering *Lung-shêng* (龍勝) or "Dragon-prevailing". In the Tibetan books we find *Klusgrub* as the equivalent of Nāgārjuna, and the name has been interpreted to mean one "perfected by a dragon"[2] or one "that forms or makes perfect the nāgas".[3] Some Chinese transcriptions of the original seem to indicate a form like Nāgārjuna.

[1] Weber, 'Ind. Lit.' p. 265 note.

[2] Wass. Bud. S. 234.

[3] Tib. Grammar by Csoma de Koros p. 193.

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As to this bodhisattva's native place we find one author assigning West India as his home, but the general testimony is that he was a native of South India or of Vidarbha[1] (that is perhaps, Kosala), and the Tibetans make him to have spent much of his life in Nālandā.[2] His date is variously given as 700,[3] 500,[4] and 400[5] years after the time of the Buddha's decease. In the apocraphycal line of succession he is placed as the 14th or the 13th Patriarch, and he is said to have died in B. C. 212.[6] He is said to have been born in B. C. 482,[7] and he is described as contemporary with, or a little later than, Kanishka in the first century of our era.[8] His career is prophesied in the final verses of the "Laṅkāvatara-sūtra",[9] and if we regard his Life as having been composed by Kumārajīva, its professed translator, he lived in the latter part of the 3rd century of our era.[10] The names of the kings Kanishka and Kilika, of Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Katyāyanīputra, Dharmagupta, and Rāhulabhadra occur in the writings ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and we may with some probability assign him to the third century A. D.

Of the treatises composed by Nāgārjuna we have about twenty in Chinese translations, of which eighteen are given in Mr. Bunyio Nanjio's Catalogue. Among them the "Friendly Letter" or "Noble Song", which exists

[1] See Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 1340); Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 177); J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LI, pp. 115 ff. (Here the birth place is Vidarbha in Central India).

[2] Tār. l. c.; J. A. S. Ben. l. c.

[3] Mahāmāya-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 382).

[4] Ind. Lit. p. 287; Tār. s. 303.

[5] Schlagintweit's 'Buddhism in Tibet' p. 30; As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 400.

[6] Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai, *ch.* 5 (No. 1637); Chih-yue-lu, *ch.* 3.

[7] Csoma's Tib. Gr. p. 182.

[8] Rāja-taraṅginī (ed. Troyer) T. I, sl. 173 and 177, T. II, p. 19. Nāgārjuna here is evidently soon after Kanishka's time. See Journal of the Buddhist Text Society. Vol. V. Pt. IV, p. 7 ff.

[9] Ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 9 (No. 176) and Ta-shêng-ju-Leng-ka-ching, *ch.* 6.

[10] Lung-shu-p'u-sa-chuan (last page).

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in one Tibetan and three Chinese translations, is perhaps the best known.[1] I-ching tells us how, at the time of his visit, the children in India learned it so as to commit it to memory, and devout adults made it a life-long study.[2] Another of Nāgārjuna's works which was highly esteemed, and attained great popularity, was that called in Chinese *Chung-kuan-lun* (中觀論), always cited and known as the "*Chung-lun*" or "Śāstra of the Mean". This poem formed the basis for the existing "Chung-lun" (No. 1179), and the "Pan-yo-têng-lun" (Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra, No. 1185). It was, and indeed it continues to be, the text-book for students of Mahāyānism in its Madhyama development. Another important and interesting treatise by Nāgārjuna is the "*Shih-chu-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*" or "Dasa-bhūmi-vibhāshā-śāstra" (No. 1180). This is a long discourse on the Pramoditā and Vimalā Bhūmis, that is, the first and second of the Ten Stages ("lands") of a bodhisattva's career, the first being the happy state of the newly converted, and the second his separation from sin. This treatise contains a poetical eulogy of Amitāyus' Paradise as giving an intermediate stage, in the course to the perfection of Buddhahood, exempt from all chance of backsliding. But the author praises in the old orthodox way the passing beyond all change of life and death into remainder-less nirvāṇa. Here as in many other passages he makes one common prayer for his own salvation and the salvation of all others. But the greatest work of Nāgārjuna extant in Chinese translation is "Mo-ha-po-yo-p'o-lo-mi-ching-shih-lun" or "Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-vyākhyā-śāstra" (No. 1169) commonly called the *Ta-chih-tu-lun* (大智度論). The translation, which was made by Kumārajīva in A. D. 405, is in 100 *chuan*. This work is a very learned commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the whole of the first part of it showing an

[1] Journal of the Pali Text Society 1886; Nos. 1440, 1441, 1464 in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 32; Takakusu p. 158 ff.

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intimate acquaintance with the canonical and other scriptures.

It was not only as an apostle of Buddhism, however, that Nāgārjuna was famous during his lifetime, and long afterwards, both in his own land, and in foreign countries. He was also trained in all the learning of a brahminical student; he knew the virtues and qualities of herbs, the secret influences of the stars, the science of alchemy and the arts of the magician and exorcist; he was also renowned as a physician and the fame of his success as a physician and eye-doctor reached China.[1] We find mention of his *Yen-lun* or Treatise on the Eye, and *Lung-shu-p'u-sa-yao-fang* or "Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Prescriptions" in four *chuan* and his *Ho-hsiang-fa* (和 香 法) are also recorded.[2] In the "Harśa-carita" we are told that Nāgārjuna obtained from the "Snake-king" in hell the pearl-wreath Mandākinī which was a potent antidote against all poisons, and by its touch relieved the pain of all creatures.[3] As a defender and expounder of Buddhism he had a creed which admitted the simple meagre system of the "Small Vehicle" equally with the subtle expansive dogmas of the "Great Vehicle". He taught the four doctrines of existence, vacuity, both existence and vacuity, and neither of the two. As a matter of personal religion he is represented as having attained to or realized the first of the ten Bhūmi. It is probable that in the passage which seems to describe him as a king the author of the Rājataraṅginī meant to describe Nāgārjuna as a bodhisattva who was lord of one Bhūmi,[4] that is, of the first one; this is said of him in several of the Mahāyāna Śāstras.

The name of the king of Kosala of whom the pilgrim tells us in the present passage is given by him as *Sha-to-p'o-ha*, rendered in Chinese by him as *Yin-chêng*, "Leading right". Julien, who restores the Sanskrit original as

[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 222; J. A. S. Ben. op. c. p. 119.

[2] T'ung-chih-liao-yi-chih-liao, *ch.* 7.

[3] Harśa-Carita (tr. Cowell and Thomas) p. 262.

[4] Rāja-taraṅginī loc. c. But Stein's text has *ekobhumīśvara*.

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Sadvaha, translates the Chinese rendering by—"Celui qui conduit les bons". But the name of the king here abbreviated in transcription was Sātavāhana, and the pilgrim's transcription apparently represents, as has been suggested, a form Sātavāha, the translation being incorrect. I-ching gives as the style (or dynastic name) of Nāgārjuna's royal friend *Sha-to-p'o-han-na* which, as Mr. Takakusu suggests, is evidently for Sātavāhana. The personal name of this king is given by I-ching as *Shi-yen-tê-ka*, and this is evidently the *Shan-t'ê-ka* of a previous translator. We cannot regard these two transcriptions as giving either *Jetaka* or Jivātaka, and they evidently represent a word like Sāntaka. In the Tibetan books Śāntivāhana (a various reading being Āntivāhana) is given as a name of the king who was a contemporary and friend of Nāgārjuna. The Tibetan translations also give Bde-byed and Bde-sphyod as translations of the king's name, and these are taken to represent the Sanskrit *Saṅkara* and *Udayana* (or *Utrayana*): *Jetaka* is also given by Tibetan writers as the name of the king who was Nāgārjuna's friend.[2] As king Sātavāhana lived in the first century of our era, his friendship with Nāgārjuna places the latter also in that century, and long before the date indicated by other circumstances. But we should probably regard the "Sātavāha" of our pilgrim, and the "Sātavāhana" of I-ching, as the name of the dynasty which ruled over this part of India from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D.

The name of the mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-k'i-li* in the passage now under notice is translated in the B and C texts by *Hei-fêng* (黑 峯) or "Black Peak". But in the D text and in the Fang-chih the rendering is *Hei-fêng* (黑 蜂) or "Black bee", and this gives us as the Sanskrit original *Bhrāmara-giri* or "Black-bee Mountain". The wonderful five-storeyed monastery of this mountain is evidently, as has been pointed out by others, the Pigeon

[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 32 and Takakusu, 'I-Tsing' p. 159.

[2] Tāranātha, pp. 71, 73, and 303; Takakusu loc. c. note.

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Monastery of Fa-hsien which he describes from the reports of others. Bhrāmarī is one of the epithets of Durgā or Pārvatī, and Beal thinks that in the names for the great monastery used by Fa-hsien and our pilgrim we have "the mountain of Bhrāmara, the *black bee*, the synonym of Durgā or Pārvatī".[1] But a perusal of the passages in the narratives of the two pilgrims will show that there is no hint of the peculiar monastery having ever been other than a Buddhist establishment.[2] Fa-hsien's *P'o-lo-yue* (波羅越) may, however, represents the word *parvata*, a *mountain*, which he heard as pārāvata, a *pigeon*, and Śrī-Parvata was the name of the mountain in South India on which Nāgārjuna resided, but the characters cannot be supposed to give a transcription of *Pārvatī*. Then our pilgrim's *Po-lo-mo-lo* may be for Bhrāmara, and he probably translated the Indian name of the mountain by *Hei-fêng-fêng* (黑蜂峯) or "Peak of the Black bee", and then one *fêng* was left out by an officious copyist. Mr. Burgess proposes to identify our pilgrim's Black-bee Mountain with the lofty rock overhanging the Kṛishṇā river "about 250 miles south of Mānikdurg and beyond the probable limits of the Kosala kingdom". On this rock is the Hindu temple called Śrī-Parvata popularly known as Śrī-Śailam. Mr. Burgess adds—"That Śrī-Parvata was the proper form of the name seems proved by the Tibetan, and the identity of this with Śrī-Śailam is well known and recognised throughout Sanskrit literature, while the acknowledged great antiquity of the Hindu shrine, the ancient and very remarkable causeways of very early date constructed from different points up to the top of the precipitous hill, and the character of the place, agree sufficiently with the reports of the Chinese pilgrims".[3]

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XV, 1883, p. 344.

[2] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 35.

[3] Burgess, 'Arch. Sur. S. India', p. 7.

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AN-TO-LO (ANDHRA).

We return to the narrative in the Records. The pilgrim relates that from Kosala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* country. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital *P'ing-ch'i* (or *k'i*)-*lo* was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil with a moist hot climate; the people were of a violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of "Mid-India", but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces wrought with perfect art, and containing an exquisite image of the Buddha. In front of the monastery was a stone tope some hundreds of feet high, tope and monastery being the work of the arhat A-che-lo (Ācharā, translated by So-hsing 所行, "Performance" or "Rule of Conduct"). Near the south-west of this monastery was an Asoka tope where the Buddha preached, displayed miracles, and received into his religion a countless multitude. Above twenty *li* further south-west was an isolated hill on the ridge of which was a stone tope where *Ch'ên-na* (陳那) P'usa composed a "yin-ming-lun" or treatise on Logic (or the Science of Inference). The pilgrim then relates a legend about the circumstances connected with the production of this śāstra in exposition of the Buddha's teaching on the *Yin-ming*. Ch'ên-na, the pilgrim relates, after the Buddha had departed from this life came under his influence, and entered the Order. The aspirations of his spiritual knowledge were vast and his intellectual strength was deep and sure. Pitying the helpless state of his age he thought to give expansion to Buddhism. As the śāstra on the science of Inference was deep and terse, and students wrought at it in vain, unable to acquire a knowledge of its teachings, he went apart to live in calm seclusion to examine the qualities of the writings on it, and investigate their characteristics of style and meaning. Hereupon a mountain-god took the P'usa up in the air, and proclaimed that the sense of the *Yin-ming-lun*, originally uttered by the Buddha, had been lost, and that it would that day be set forth at large again by *Ch'ên-na*. This latter then sent abroad a great light which illuminated the darkness. The sight of this light led to the king's request that Ch'ên-na should proceed at once to the attainment of arhatship. When the p'usa reluctantly agreed to do so, Mañjuśrī appeared, and recalled him to his high designs and aspirations for the salvation of others, and also summoned him to develope for the benefit of posterity

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the "*Yu-ka-shih-ti-lun*" (Yogāchārya-bhūmi-śāstra), originally delivered by Maitreya. On this Ch'ên-na renounced the idea of an arhat's career, and devoted himself to a thorough study and development of the treatise on the science of Inference. When he had finished his work on this subject, he proceeded to the propagation of the rich teaching of the Yoga system, and had disciples who were men of note among their contemporaries.[1]

Comparing this passage with the narrative in the Life we find that in the latter the direction from Kosala to *An-to-lo* is given as south-east from the south of the district of the capital, the distance being the same. Julien restores the Sanskrit name of the country as *Andhra*, which is the correct form, but our pilgrim's transcription is nearer Andar (the Andara of Pliny). His name for the capital, *P'ing-k'i* (or *ch'i*)-*lo*, is restored doubtfully by Julien as *Viṇgila*, but it may be for a word like Vinjir or Vingir. According to Cunningham our pilgrim's Andhra is "the modern Telingāma".[2] Fergusson, who does not know where to place the capital, says that the name here given for it "sounds very like Vengi, which we know was the name of the capital of the Eastern Chalukyas at this period".[3] In the Vāyu-Purāṇa, quoted by Alberuni, we find one Andhra in the south and another in the east, and the name was apparently rather that of a people than of a country.[4] We find *An-tê-lo* (Andhra) in some Buddhist works as the name of a frontier district with a language different from that of India.[5] The Kathā Vatthu commentary often mentions the *Andhakā*, that is, that men of the Andhra school, but it gives no information as to the exact position of the district.[6]

The name of the great Buddhist philosopher transcribed

[1] The original for the last clause is in all the texts except B which apparently was that used by the translators.

[2] A. G. I. p. 527.

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[1] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 35; Takakusu p. 186.

[2] Fan-yi-ming-yi, *ch.* 1; The Wu-chou Catalogue of the Buddhist Books, *ch.* 6 (No. 1610).

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[1] Weber's 'Ind. Lit.' p. 209 note, 245 note; J. B. T. S. l. c.

[2] Colebrooke, 'Essays' Vol. I, p. 282 note.

[3] See Csoma in As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 579; Feer in 'Annales du Musée Guimet', Vol. II, p. 373.

[4] Tār. s. 140.

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of such explanations and amplifications as would be found necessary. Whether he lived to carry out his design we do not know at present. There is no work of this kind among his treatises now accessible in Chinese or Tibetan translation so far as the present writer knows. When the pilgrim here represents Diṅnāga as listening to the advice of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, and leaving the path to arhatship, he merely wishes to convey to his readers that Diṅnāga gave up Hīnayānism to devote himself to the study and teaching of Mahāyānism. We have had in a previous chapter a similar story about the great Śāstra-Master Vasumitra, who was dissuaded by the devas from taking arhatship.

T'Ê-NA-KA-CHE-KA (DHANAKAṬAKA?).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Andhra the pilgrim continued his journey south, through wood and jungle, for over 1000 *li*, and reached the *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above 40 *li* in circuit. The country had a rich soil and yielded abundant crops; there was much waste land and the inhabited towns were few; the climate was warm, and the people were of black complexion, of violent disposition, and fond of the arts. There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 Brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. There were above 100 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various sects were very numerous. At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (Pūrvaśilā) or "East Mountain", and at a hill to the west of the city was the *A-fa-lo-shih-lo* (Avaraśilā) or "West Mountain" monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former King of the country, who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors continuous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries, which had been frequented by saints and sages. During the millenium immediately following the Buddha's decease a thousand ordinary Brethren came here every year to spend the Retreat of the rainy season. On the day of leaving Retreat these all became arhats, and by their supernormal powers went away through the air. Afterwards common

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monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than 100 years there had not been any Brethren resident in the establishment, and visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain-gods assumed. Not far from the south side of the capital was a mountain-cliff in the Asura's Palace in which the Śāstra-Master *P'o-p'i-fei-ka* waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha. Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who "externally displaying the Sañkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna". Hearing that *Hu-fa* (Dharmapāla) P'usa was preaching Buddhism in Magadha with some thousands of disciples the Śāstra-Master longing for a discussion, set off, staff in hand, to see him. On arriving at Pāṭaliputra he learned that Hu-fa was at the Bodhi-Tree and thither he sent as messenger a disciple with the following message for the P'usa—"I have long yearned to come under the influence of you as a preacher of Buddhism, and a guide to the erring, but have failed to pay my respects to you through the non-fullfillment of a former prayer. I have vowed not to see the Bodhi-Tree in vain. If I visit it I must become Buddha". Fa-hu sent back a reply that human life was illusory and fleeting, and that he was too much occupied to have a discussion. Messengers and messages went to and fro, but there was no interview. Then the Śāstra-Master went back to his home in this country, and after calm reflection concluded that his doubts could be solved only by an interview with Maitreya as Buddha. He thereupon abstained from food, only drinking water, and for three years repeated before an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa the "*Sui-hsin* Dhāraṇi". After all this that P'usa appeared in his beautiful form, and on hearing the devotee's desire to remain in this world to see Maitreya, he advised him rather to cultivate a higher goodness which would lead to rebirth in the Tushita Heaven and so accelerate an interview with Maitreya. But the Śāstra-Master had made up his mind, and was not to be moved from his resolve. So Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa directed him to go to this country, to the shrine of the god Vajrapāṇi, in the cliff to the south of the capital, and on reciting the "Vajrapāṇi Dhāraṇi" there he would obtain his desire. The Śāstra-Master acted on the advice, and after three years' repetition of the dharāṇi the god appeared, gave a secret prescription, and told the devotee to make due petition at the Asura's Palace in the cliff; the rock would then open and he was to enter, on the coming of Maitreya the god would let him know. After three more years' constancy the Śāstra-Master with a charmed mustard-seed struck the cliff which thereupon opened. There were at the place many myriads of people who had continued gazing, forgetful of their homes. When the Śāstra-Master passed quietly in, he urged the crowd

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to follow, but only six ventured after him; the others held back through fear, but they lamented their mistake.

This passage presents some serious difficulties. The name of the country here transcribed *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* has been restored as Dhanakacheka and Dhanakaṭaka. In Tibetan books the term Ḅras-spuns or "Rice-heap" is given as the rendering of the latter word, but this translation, as has been suggested, seems to point to a form like Dānyakaṭaka.[1] A note added to the pilgrim's text tells us that another name for the country was "Great Andhra," and it is possible that the name Dhanakaṭaka was confined to the district of the capital. Cunningham, who in his usual manner alters the Chinese text to suit his own fancies, writes the name "Donakotta" and otherwise, and fixes the position of the capital "at Dhāranikotta or Amarvāti, on the Kistna."[2] Fergusson is of opinion that the united testimony of Mr. Boswell's report and certain photographs "prove, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt, Bezwarra (the Bezwada and Bejwāḍa of others) to be the city Hiouen-Thsang describes".[3] This identification has been accepted by Mr. Sewell after a careful examination of the district and the texts on the subject.[4] According to Mr. Burgess the capital of the country at the time of our pilgrim was Bejwāḍa, but he also writes—"The town of Dharaṇikoṭa is the ancient Dhanyakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭaka, the capital of Mahā-Andhra, and lies about eighteen miles in a direct line to the westward from Bejwāda, on the south or right bank of the Krishṇā river, above the bed of which it is well raised".[5] But the situation and surroundings of Dhāraṇikoṭṭa are against this identification, while the Bejwāḍa site has much in its favour.

As to the Buddhist Brethren in this country, we have

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[1] Tār. s. 142 and note.
[2] A. G. I. p. 530 ff. The spelling is Cunningham's.
[3] J. R. A. S. 1873 p. 263.
[4] J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 98 ff.
[5] 'Arch. Sur. S. India' p. 9 ff.

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seen that Yuan-chuang describes them as being "Mahāsaṅghikas". Julien's translation here gives "Mahāyānists", the B text which he used having *ta-shêng* or "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna). But the other texts, and the Fang-chih, have *ta-chung* or "Great Congregation", that is, Mahāsaṅgha, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. The Life tells us that during his stay here the pilgrim studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsaṅghika school with two local Brethren, whom he in turn instructed in Mahāyāna scriptures.

We come next to the Pūrvaśilā and Avaraśilā monasteries. The author's words seem to indicate clearly that these two formed one establishment, and it was evidently in this sense that the passage was understood by the compilers of the Life and the Fan-chih. The monasteries were apparently built on steep hills, the sides of which were utilized in their construction, and there was an artificial communication, connecting them with the city apparently and with each other. According to the B text the author states that the monasteries "erected by a former King of this country for the Buddha as a *ch'a* (剎)", a *temple* or *religious sphere*. But the other texts, the Life, and the Fang-chih, merely represend them as having been built for the Buddha. Then the C text proceeds—"The King excavated a through path in the river (or valley) and quarried lofty chambers in the cliff; the long corridors and broad cloisters rested on and made continuations of the caves in the steep rock". For "excavated" the original is *tso* (鑿) which means to *chisel, bore out, excavate*. But instead of *tso* the other texts have *tien* (奠) which means to *determine* or *settle*, and to *follow as a guide or boundary*. With this reading the clause *tien-ch'uan-t'ung-ching* 奠川通徑) seems to mean "Keeping along the line of the mountain-river he made a pathway of communication". The Fang-chih also has *tien*, but instead of *ch'uan* it has *shan* that is, *hill*.[1] Further instead of the "broad cloisters"

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—*Kuang-wu* (廣廡)—of the B text, the other texts have *pu-yen* (步簷) or "walking-eaves", that is, verandahs or corridors. The Life praises these two Monasteries as "having all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery" lit. wood and spring (窮大廈之規式盡林泉之秀麗). Instead of the *ta-hsia*, a "great mansion" here, the B text, used by Julien, has *ta hsia* (大夏),[1] which is a Chinese name for the country called Bactria. But this is evidently a slip of the pen, and the proper reading is that of the other texts which means a "great mansion".

We must observe that neither in the passage now under notice, nor in the Life, is there any mention of a tope as existing in this district. Yet in the "Archæological Survey of South India" we find Mr. Burgess writing—"We now pass to the mention of the great Amarāvatī monument by Hiuen Thsang", that is, its great tope. He identifies this tope with the Pūrvaśilā monastery of our pilgrim, while Fergusson identified it with the Avaraśilā monastery. It is hard to understand how any one could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams, and having spacious chambers and great corridors, with a building which is only a remarkable tope situated on a plain. Mr. Burgess, because the tope and its surroundings do not suit the account of the monastery, writes of the pilgrim as not having personally visited the place, forgetting the statement in the Life that he spent several months here visiting the sacred sights of the district in company with native Brethren. Mr. Sewell's conscientious examination of the district gives results which seem to be in general agreement with the pilgrim's description. He has found something which he thinks confirms the statement

is a copyist's or printer's mistake for *tien* (寘) which means to *raise* or *fill up*. The meaning, with this reading, would be that the king formed a path of communication between the two monasteries, or between them and the capital, by raising an embankment in the valley.

[1] Life *ch.* 4; Julien I, p. 188.

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that the King (in Beal's translation made for Mr. Sewell) "bored out the river-course, constructing a road through it", and writes—"Now the path from the town of Bezwāḍa that leads up to the level of the platforms on the escarp- of the mountain to the west of the town, passes up a gully caused by centuries of mountain torrents, and when it comes to the steepest part of the ascent, is conducted by steps through an almost perpendicular cliff, which has been cut into for the purpose, to the more level portion of the hill-side above it: so that the visitor at that part stands on steps with walls of rock artificially cut on each side of him. This is the "river-course" that has been bored into to construct a path". But all this seems to be rather against the text rendered "bored out the river-course", although it may be in agreement with the old reading interpreted as meaning "proceeding according to the line of the mountain-river". The "river-course" was not "bored out" by the king, for it had been there for centuries, but the king may have cut his path in the rocks along its line. Mr. Sewell, it will be seen, changes "bored out" into "bored into", which is not the same thing. But the *tso-ch'uan* of the B text should be set aside, and the *tien-ch'uan* of the other texts adopted. The passage is evidently corrupt and we can only guess at what may have been the form of the clause in the original manuscript. It is perhaps not impossible that the pilgrim wrote—"these monasteries were erected and cut out by a former king who made a path (or paths) to them along the mountain-river course (or courses). The text would read 此國先王爲佛建鑿奠川通徑

To these monasteries, according to the legend here related by the pilgrim, for 1000 years after the Buddha's decease *Ch'ien-fan-fu-sêng* (千凡夫僧), that is "1000 ordinary Brethren", came together to pass the Rain-season Retreat. Julien spoils the meaning of the passage by translating these four characters "mille laïques et autant de religieux". Here, as in many other passages, the *fan-fu-sêng*, or "common monk", is clearly distinguished from

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the "*Yu-ka-shih-ti-lun*" (Yogāchārya-bhūmi-śāstra), originally delivered by Maitreya. On this Ch'ên-na renounced the idea of an arhat's career, and devoted himself to a thorough study and development of the treatise on the science of Inference. When he had finished his work on this subject, he proceeded to the propagation of the rich teaching of the Yoga system, and had disciples who were men of note among their contemporaries.[1]

Comparing this passage with the narrative in the Life we find that in the latter the direction from Kosala to *An-to-lo* is given as south-east from the south of the district of the capital, the distance being the same. Julien restores the Sanskrit name of the country as *Andhra*, which is the correct form, but our pilgrim's transcription is nearer Andar (the Andara of Pliny). His name for the capital, *P'ing-k'i* (or *ch'i*)-*lo*, is restored doubtfully by Julien as *Viṇgila*, but it may be for a word like Vinjir or Vingir. According to Cunningham our pilgrim's Andhra is "the modern Telingāma".[2] Fergusson, who does not know where to place the capital, says that the name here given for it "sounds very like Vengi, which we know was the name of the capital of the Eastern Chalukyas at this period".[3] In the Vāyu-Purāṇa, quoted by Alberuni, we find one Andhra in the south and another in the east, and the name was apparently rather that of a people than of a country.[4] We find *An-tê-lo* (Andhra) in some Buddhist works as the name of a frontier district with a language different from that of India.[5] The Kathā Vatthu commentary often mentions the *Andhakā*, that is, that men of the Andhra school, but it gives no information as to the exact position of the district.[6]

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[1] Weber's 'Ind. Lit.' p. 209 note, 245 note; J. B. T. S. l. c.

[2] Colebrooke, 'Essays' Vol. I, p. 282 note.

[3] See Csoma in As. Res. Vol. XX, p. 579; Feer in 'Annales du Musée Guimet', Vol. II, p. 373.

[4] Tār. s. 140.

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of such explanations and amplifications as would be found necessary. Whether he lived to carry out his design we do not know at present. There is no work of this kind among his treatises now accessible in Chinese or Tibetan translation so far as the present writer knows. When the pilgrim here represents Diṅnāga as listening to the advice of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, and leaving the path to arhatship, he merely wishes to convey to his readers that Diṅnāga gave up Hīnayānism to devote himself to the study and teaching of Mahāyānism. We have had in a previous chapter a similar story about the great Śāstra-Master Vasumitra, who was dissuaded by the devas from taking arhatship.

T'Ê-NA-KA-CHE-KA (DHANAKAṬAKA?).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Andhra the pilgrim continued his journey south, through wood and jungle, for over 1000 *li*, and reached the *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above 40 *li* in circuit. The country had a rich soil and yielded abundant crops; there was much waste land and the inhabited towns were few; the climate was warm, and the people were of black complexion, of violent disposition, and fond of the arts. There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 Brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. There were above 100 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various sects were very numerous. At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (Pūrvaśilā) or "East Mountain", and at a hill to the west of the city was the *A-fa-lo-shih-lo* (Avaraśilā) or "West Mountain" monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former King of the country, who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors continuous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries, which had been frequented by saints and sages. During the millenium immediately following the Buddha's decease a thousand ordinary Brethren came here every year to spend the Retreat of the rainy season. On the day of leaving Retreat these all became arhats, and by their supernormal powers went away through the air. Afterwards common

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monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than 100 years there had not been any Brethren resident in the establishment, and visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain-gods assumed. Not far from the south side of the capital was a mountain-cliff in the Asura's Palace in which the Śāstra-Master *P'o-p'i-fei-ka* waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha. Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who "externally displaying the Sañkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna". Hearing that *Hu-fa* (Dharmapāla) P'usa was preaching Buddhism in Magadha with some thousands of disciples the Śāstra-Master longing for a discussion, set off, staff in hand, to see him. On arriving at Pāṭaliputra he learned that Hu-fa was at the Bodhi-Tree and thither he sent as messenger a disciple with the following message for the P'usa—"I have long yearned to come under the influence of you as a preacher of Buddhism, and a guide to the erring, but have failed to pay my respects to you through the non-fullfillment of a former prayer. I have vowed not to see the Bodhi-Tree in vain. If I visit it I must become Buddha". Fa-hu sent back a reply that human life was illusory and fleeting, and that he was too much occupied to have a discussion. Messengers and messages went to and fro, but there was no interview. Then the Śāstra-Master went back to his home in this country, and after calm reflection concluded that his doubts could be solved only by an interview with Maitreya as Buddha. He thereupon abstained from food, only drinking water, and for three years repeated before an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa the "*Sui-hsin* Dhāraṇi". After all this that P'usa appeared in his beautiful form, and on hearing the devotee's desire to remain in this world to see Maitreya, he advised him rather to cultivate a higher goodness which would lead to rebirth in the Tushita Heaven and so accelerate an interview with Maitreya. But the Śāstra-Master had made up his mind, and was not to be moved from his resolve. So Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa directed him to gó to this country, to the shrine of the god Vajrapāṇi, in the cliff to the south of the capital, and on reciting the "Vajrapāṇi Dhāraṇi" there he would obtain his desire. The Śāstra-Master acted on the advice, and after three years' repetition of the dharāṇi the god appeared, gave a secret prescription, and told the devotee to make due petition at the Asura's Palace in the cliff; the rock would then open and he was to enter, on the coming of Maitreya the god would let him know. After three more years' constancy the Śāstra-Master with a charmed mustard-seed struck the cliff which thereupon opened. There were at the place many myriads of people who had continued gazing, forgetful of their homes. When the Śāstra-Master passed quietly in, he urged the crowd

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to follow, but only six ventured after him; the others held back through fear, but they lamented their mistake.

This passage presents some serious difficulties. The name of the country here transcribed *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* has been restored as Dhanakacheka and Dhanakaṭaka. In Tibetan books the term Ḅras-spuns or "Rice-heap" is given as the rendering of the latter word, but this translation, as has been suggested, seems to point to a form like Dānyakaṭaka.[1] A note added to the pilgrim's text tells us that another name for the country was "Great Andhra," and it is possible that the name Dhanakaṭaka was confined to the district of the capital. Cunningham, who in his usual manner alters the Chinese text to suit his own fancies, writes the name "Donakotta" and otherwise, and fixes the position of the capital "at Dhāranikotta or Amarvāti, on the Kistna."[2] Fergusson is of opinion that the united testimony of Mr. Boswell's report and certain photographs "prove, almost beyond the shadow of a doubt, Bezwarra (the Bezwada and Bejwāḍa of others) to be the city Hiouen-Thsang describes".[3] This identification has been accepted by Mr. Sewell after a careful examination of the district and the texts on the subject.[4] According to Mr. Burgess the capital of the country at the time of our pilgrim was Bejwāḍa, but he also writes—"The town of Dharaṇikoṭa is the ancient Dhanyakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭaka, the capital of Mahā-Andhra, and lies about eighteen miles in a direct line to the westward from Bejwāda, on the south or right bank of the Krishṇā river, above the bed of which it is well raised".[5] But the situation and surroundings of Dhāraṇikoṭṭa are against this identification, while the Bejwāḍa site has much in its favour.

As to the Buddhist Brethren in this country, we have

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[1] Tār. s. 142 and note.
[2] A. G. I. p. 530 ff. The spelling is Cunningham's.
[3] J. R. A. S. 1873 p. 263.
[4] J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, p. 98 ff.
[5] 'Arch. Sur. S. India' p. 9 ff.

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seen that Yuan-chuang describes them as being "Mahāsaṅghikas". Julien's translation here gives "Mahāyānists", the B text which he used having *ta-shêng* or "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna). But the other texts, and the Fang-chih, have *ta-chung* or "Great Congregation", that is, Mahāsaṅgha, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. The Life tells us that during his stay here the pilgrim studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsaṅghika school with two local Brethren, whom he in turn instructed in Mahāyāna scriptures.

We come next to the Pūrvaśilā and Avaraśilā monasteries. The author's words seem to indicate clearly that these two formed one establishment, and it was evidently in this sense that the passage was understood by the compilers of the Life and the Fan-chih. The monasteries were apparently built on steep hills, the sides of which were utilized in their construction, and there was an artificial communication, connecting them with the city apparently and with each other. According to the B text the author states that the monasteries "erected by a former King of this country for the Buddha as a *ch'a* (剎)", a *temple* or *religious sphere.* But the other texts, the Life, and the Fang-chih, merely represend them as having been built for the Buddha. Then the C text proceeds—"The King excavated a through path in the river (or valley) and quarried lofty chambers in the cliff; the long corridors and broad cloisters rested on and made continuations of the caves in the steep rock". For "excavated" the original is *tso* (鑿) which means to *chisel, bore out, excavate.* But instead of *tso* the other texts have *tien* (奠) which means to *determine* or *settle,* and to *follow as a guide or boundary.* With this reading the clause *tien-ch'uan-t'ung-ching* 奠川通徑) seems to mean "Keeping along the line of the mountain-river he made a pathway of communication". The Fang-chih also has *tien,* but instead of *ch'uan* it has *shan* that is, *hill.*[1] Further instead of the "broad cloisters"

[1] A learned native scholar suggests that the *tien* (奠) of the text

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—*Kuang-wu* (廣 廡)—of the B text, the other texts have *pu-yen* (步 簷) or "walking-eaves", that is, verandahs or corridors. The Life praises these two Monasteries as "having all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery" lit. wood and spring (窮 大 廈 之 規 式 盡 林 泉 之 秀 麗). Instead of the *ta-hsia*, a "great mansion" here, the B text, used by Julien, has *ta hsia* (大 夏),[1] which is a Chinese name for the country called Bactria. But this is evidently a slip of the pen, and the proper reading is that of the other texts which means a "great mansion".

We must observe that neither in the passage now under notice, nor in the Life, is there any mention of a tope as existing in this district. Yet in the "Archæological Survey of South India" we find Mr. Burgess writing—"We now pass to the mention of the great Amarāvatī monument by Hiuen Thsang", that is, its great tope. He identifies this tope with the Pūrvaśilā monastery of our pilgrim, while Fergusson identified it with the Avaraśilā monastery. It is hard to understand how any one could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams, and having spacious chambers and great corridors, with a building which is only a remarkable tope situated on a plain. Mr. Burgess, because the tope and its surroundings do not suit the account of the monastery, writes of the pilgrim as not having personally visited the place, forgetting the statement in the Life that he spent several months here visiting the sacred sights of the district in company with native Brethren. Mr. Sewell's conscientious examination of the district gives results which seem to be in general agreement with the pilgrim's description. He has found something which he thinks confirms the statement

is a copyist's or printer's mistake for *tien* (寘) which means to *raise* or *fill up*. The meaning, with this reading, would be that the king formed a path of communication between the two monasteries, or between them and the capital, by raising an embankment in the valley.

[1] Life *ch.* 4; Julien I, p. 188.

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that the King (in Beal's translation made for Mr. Sewell) "bored out the river-course, constructing a road through it", and writes—"Now the path from the town of Bezwāḍa that leads up to the level of the platforms on the escarp- of the mountain to the west of the town, passes up a gully caused by centuries of mountain torrents, and when it comes to the steepest part of the ascent, is conducted by steps through an almost perpendicular cliff, which has been cut into for the purpose, to the more level portion of the hill-side above it: so that the visitor at that part stands on steps with walls of rock artificially cut on each side of him. This is the "river-course" that has been bored into to construct a path". But all this seems to be rather against the text rendered "bored out the river-course", although it may be in agreement with the old reading interpreted as meaning "proceeding according to the line of the mountain-river". The "river-course" was not "bored out" by the king, for it had been there for centuries, but the king may have cut his path in the rocks along its line. Mr. Sewell, it will be seen, changes "bored out" into "bored into", which is not the same thing. But the *tso-ch'uan* of the B text should be set aside, and the *tien-ch'uan* of the other texts adopted. The passage is evidently corrupt and we can only guess at what may have been the form of the clause in the original manuscript. It is perhaps not impossible that the pilgrim wrote—"these monasteries were erected and cut out by a former king who made a path (or paths) to them along the mountain-river course (or courses). The text would read 此國先王爲佛建鑿奠川通徑

To these monasteries, according to the legend here related by the pilgrim, for 1000 years after the Buddha's decease *Ch'ien-fan-fu-sêng* (千凡夫僧), that is "1000 ordinary Brethren", came together to pass the Rain-season Retreat. Julien spoils the meaning of the passage by translating these four characters "mille laïques et autant de religieux". Here, as in many other passages, the *fan-fu-sêng*, or "common monk", is clearly distinguished from

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the *shêng-sêng* or "holy monk" who has attained arhatship, and the Fang-chih uses the recognized contraction *fan-sêng*, our "common monk". Farther on where our author states that after the above millenium "the common and holy" (*fan-shêng* 凡聖), that is the ordinary Brethren and the arhats, lodged together in the monasteries Julien as usual mistranslates *fan-shêng* by "les hommes vulgaires et les saints". It is very plain from this story about the 1000 Buddhist Brethren coming yearly to these monasteries to spend the Rain-season Retreat in them, that the establishment was at a convenient distance from a town. If the capital did not lie between the two monasteries at this period, these must at least have been near a town or village. The bhikshus were not allowed to go into Retreat at places distant from the residences of the lay-believers who supplied them with food.

The next item in the pilgrim's account of this district is the "Mountain-cliff (*ta-shan-yen* 大山巖) near the south of the city", in a cave in which Śāstra-Master *P'o-p'i-fei-ka* stays waiting to have an interview with Maitreya when the latter comes to be Buddha. The term *ta-shan-yen* is rendered by Julien "une grande caverne de montagne", but *yen*, although it has the meaning of a *natural cavity* our *recess in a rock*, is properly a *steep cliff*, a *sheer wall of rock*. That the latter is the sense in which the word is used here is clear from the context, for the wall of rock opens to receive the Śāstra-Master and closes again until Maitreya comes. This rock is the door, and there is a cave inside into which the Śāstra-Master passes, but the cave is not visible to spectators. In the translation of this passage which Beal made for Mr. Sewell he translated *ta-shan-yen* by "a large terraced mountain", a rendering which is quite inadmissible, but in his "Buddhist Records" he adopts Julien's rendering. Yet in an article published in the J. R. A. S. for January 1890 Mr. Rea goes back to the "large terraced mountain", and finds a site which exactly answers to the wrong translation. He accordingly thinks that—"Amarāvatī might be the monastery of the

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Avaraśilā school; Vaikunthapuram that of the Purvaśilās; and Pedda Madūr, the "terraced mountain" at a "little distance to the south of the town".[1] Neither Amarāvatī nor Vaikuṇṭhapur can be said to have any claim to represent either of the two monasteries. Pedda Madūr, according to Mr. Rea, is a village four miles south-east from Amarāvatī and so not near the site of the capital, and the "series of extensive brick remains, built on terraces rising one above the other" on the hill above the village is incompatible with the pilgrim's description. So also is the location, and our pilgrim's "mountain cliff" is more likely the isolated steep mountain to the south of Bezwāḍa, as has been suggested by others. Mr. Sewell boldly identifies the cliff with the "Rock-cut temple at Uṇḍavilli"; but his theory und Mr. Fergusson's objection to it seem to be founded on Julien's translation—"une grande caverne de montagne". In the Life the "mountain cliff" is merely a *ta-shih-shan*, or "great rock hill", and the Fang-chih uses the pilgrim's expression.

We come next to the Śāstra-Master whom our pilgrim here calls *P'o-p'i-fei-ka*. Julien restores this name as Bhāva-viveka and the restoration has of course been adopted by all. The authority for this name is found in Burnouf's description of a Sanskrit treatise known by the name Vinaya-sūtra (but properly the "Madhyamaka-vṛitti"), composed by the Āchārya Chandra-kīrti as a commentary on the axioms of Nāgārjuna. This treatise, Burnouf tells us, quotes certain Buddhist Brethren or commentators otherwise unknown to us, and among the eminent Buddhists whom it mentions are Buddhapālita, Āryadeva, and the Āchārya Bhavaviveka.[2] But the name which is transcribed *P'o-p'i-fei-ka* in the present passage, in the Life, and the Fang-chih, is evidently *Bhāviveka*. It is translated by *Ch'ing-pien* (清辯) or "Clearness-discriminating" and in the "Fang-chih by *Ming*(明)-*pien* or "Light (or Clearness)-

[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, p. 198 ff.

[2] 'Introduction' p. 559 ff.

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discriminating. These renderings also point to Bhāviveka as the original. Besides, the word *bhāva* is rendered usually by *shên* (身), "body" or *yu* (有) "existing". In the Tibetan books we find a Master whose name has been retranslated into Sanskrit as Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya apparently), but his Tibetan name Legs-ldan-hlyed-pa means "Clear analysing" and seems to correspond to the Chinese *Ch'ing-pien* and Bhāviveka.[2] The Śāstra-master in question was a native of South India, and apparently of the Malayagiri country. His disciples, according to I-ching, lived in the middle period between Nāgārjuna and Diṅnāga,[2] but according to our pilgrim he was a junior contemporary of Dharmapāla. In the Chinese collection of Buddhist scriptures we have one treatise ascribed to *Ch'ing-pien*, viz-the "Ta-shêng-chang-chên-lun" or "Mahāyāna Pearl-in-hand Śāstra" (No. 1237), translated by our pilgrim in A. D. 648. This work shows great learning and subtle reasoning: the author quotes not only from various Buddhist sects and schools, but also from the teachings of other sects, including the Sāṅkhyas. In the Chinese collection we have also a remarkable work called" Prajñā-lamp-śāstra-exposition" (or simply "Prajñā-lamp-śāstra"). This work is a commentary on the "*Chung-lun*" of Nāgārjuna, already mentioned, together with the Chinese text of that treatise. The commentary is ascribed on the title-page to *F'en-pie-ming* (分別明) or "Discriminating light" P'usa. Mr. Nanjio (No 1185) makes this name indicate Ārya-Deva, but it is a translation of Bhāviveka. In a well known Chinese treatise the book is ascribed to "the Śāstra-Master of South India by name *P'i-ka* (毘迦)", that is, the Bhāviveka of our pilgrim.[3] One of the epithets of this Śāstra-

[1] Tār. p. 136 and note.

[2] Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 34; Takakusu (p. 181) translates the passage as intimating that Ch'ing-pien lived in this period.

[3] Ch'êng-tao-chi p. 37. The characters for *p'i* and *ka* are the second and fourth of those used to transcribe the full name, and their order is reversed by mistake in some texts.

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Master, we know, was "Lord of the Prajñā-lamp-śāstra",[1] and his treatise with this name evidently became very famous. In it also we find a great knowledge of Buddhist and other scriptures, and a frequent quotation from the Sāṅkhya texts. We understand from it, and the "Ta-shêng-chang-chên-lun", what our pilgrim meant by his statement that Bhāviveka showed the garb of Sāṅkhya while propagating the system of Nāgārjuna. In these two works we find the author making much use of Sāṅkhya terminology in stating and defending the theories of Nāgārjuna. In the "Prajñā-lamp-śāstra" also we find the author referring to *Fo-hu*, that is the Dharmapālita mentioned in Burnouf's text. But this śāstra is not in any degree a treatise on the *Pāramitās*, and *Prajñā* is evidently used in it in a sense corresponding to our *Pure Reason* or *Transcendental Wisdom*. This śāstra may be the Tibetan work the title of which is restored by Schiefner as "Prajñā-pradīpa-mūla-madhyamika-vṛitti".[2] But there is another treatise in Tibetan translation also ascribed to this Master as author, and the title of this treatise is restored by Wassiljew as "Tarka-jvālā" or "Flame of Speculation". Wassiljew states that this work does not exist in a Chinese translation, but it seems to be a treatise very like the "Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra".[3]

It will be noticed that Bhāviveka, carrying out the prescription given to him, strikes the rock with charmed mustard-seed; and this causes the rock to open and let him in. This procedure is in accordance with the teachings of the Dhāraṇi sūtras in which we find white mustard-seed often used and prescribed as a charm. This seed when duly parched, and rendered efficacious by the repetition of magical formulæ, could bring rain, cleave a rock, or even rend the earth. The "Vajra-holding god" of this passage is evidently the Vajrapāṇi (or Vajrasattva) who

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[1] Fang-chih, *ch.* 2.

[2] Tār. l. c.

[3] Wass. Bud. s. 287.

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figures largely in several of the Dhāraṇi sūtras. In these he is sometimes a Bodhisattva, sometimes a god and chief of the Yakshas, and sometimes plain Vajrapāṇi.

The pilgrim, it will be observed, makes the determined and devoted Śāstra-Master recite for three years, before Kuan-tzŭ-tsai's image, the "Sui-hsin-dhāraṇi". This very curious book (No. 325), the full title of which is "Kuan-tzŭ-tsai-sui-hsin-t'o-lo-ni (or with *ch'ou* instead of *t'o-lo-ni*), was one of the sacred texts which our pilgrim carried home to China, and there it was translated by *Chih-t'ung* (智通).

Our pilgrim's statement about Vajrapāṇi and his magical spells seems to agree with another authority which tells us that Dhanakaṭaka became a centre of production for spells and exorcisms.[1]

CHU-LI-YA (CHULYA?)

We go back now to the narrative in the Records. It proceeds to state that from Dhanakaṭaka the pilgrim went south-west above 1000 *li* to *Chu-li-ya*. This country, we are told, was about 2400 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above ten *li* in circuit. It was a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants, and bands of highwaymen went about openly; it had a moist hot climate; the people were of a fierce and profligate character and were believers in the Tīrthikas; the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only some of them had Brethren; there were several tens of Deva-temples, and the Digambaras were numerous. To the south-east of the capital, and near it, was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached, wrought miracles, overcome Tīrthikas, and received men and devas into his communion. Near the west side of the city was an old monastery where Deva p'usa had discussed with the arhat Uttara. And this is the story of the discussion. Deva had heard of this arhat with supernormal powers and attainments, so he made a long journey to see him and observe his style of teaching. Uttara, being a man content with little, had only one couch in his room, so he made a heap of fallen leaves on which he bade his guest recline. When the arhat was ready Deva stated his difficulties, and the arhat gave his solutions, then Deva replied and put further

[1] See Tār. s. 277.

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questions and so on for seven rounds; the arhat unable to reply transported himself secretly to the Tushita Paradise and obtained the necessary explanations from Maitreya who told him that he should be very respectful to Deva who was to be a Buddha in the present kalpa; when Uttara imparted his information to Deva the latter recognized it as the teaching of Maitreya; hereupon Uttara gave up his mat to Deva with polite apologies, and treated him with profound respect.

This passage differs from the Life in the direction assigned to *Chu-li-ya* from Dhanakaṭaka, the pilgrim giving it as south-west, while the Life in one text has west and in another has south. The *Chu-li-ya* of the text has been restored as Cholya, and it corresponds, no doubt, to the country of the Choḍas mentioned in Asoka's second and thirteenth Edicts,[1] and of the Cholas often mentioned in literature from the fifth century onwards. Cunningham suggests as its modern representative the district of *Karnūl* "which is 230 miles in a direct line to the north-north-west of Kānchipura, and 160 miles to the west-south-west of Dhāranikoṭṭa".[2] Fergusson, however, assuming that the object for which the pilgrim was travelling here was "to get to the port of embarcation for Ceylon" thinks that "the direction and distance would take us to Nellore, which is an important place".[3]

In the above passage the words "being a man content with little" are in the original *shao-yü-chih-tsu* (少欲知足) which is replaced in some texts by words meaning "in his place of abode". This story of Deva P'usa and Uttara is one of our pilgrim's silly legends about the great apostles of Buddhism in India, and we need not examine it closely. The Uttara of the story cannot be either the bhikshu with that name who founded the Sautrāntika School, or the Uttara of king Asoka's time who went with Soṇa to propagate Buddhism in Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi. Our pilgrim evidently understood the arhat to be a Hīnayānist Buddhist who was no match in

[1] Senart, 'Inscriptions de Piyadasi', 73, 210.
[2] A. G. I. p. 545.
[3] J. R. A. S. VI, 264.

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discussion for the Mahāyānist P'usa who had god-given powers of persuasion.

DRAVIḌA.

The pilgrim continuing his narrative relates that from Chulya he travelled 1500 or 1600 *li* through wood and jungle south to the *Ta-lo-p'i-t'u* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit and its capital *Kan-chih-pu-lo* was above thirty *li* in circuit. The region had a rich fertile soil, it abounded in fruits and flowers and yielded precious substances. The people were courageous, thoroughly trustworthy, and public-spirited, and they esteemed great learning; in their written and spoken language they differed from "Mid-India". There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 10 000 Brethren all of the Sthavira School. The Deva-Temples were above 80, and the majority belonged to the Digambaras. This country had been frequently visited by the Buddha, and king Asoka had erected topes at the various spots where the Buddha had preached and admitted members into his Order. The capital was the birth-place of Dharmapāla P'usa who was the eldest son of a high official of the city. He was a boy of good natural parts which received great development as he grew up. When he came of age a daughter of the king was assigned to him as wife, but on the night before the ceremony of marriage was to be performed, being greatly distressed in mind, he prayed earnestly before an image of Buddha. In answer to his prayer a god bore him away to a mountain monastery some hundreds of *li* from the capital When the Brethren of the monastery heard his story they complied with his request, and gave him ordination, and the king on ascertaining what had become of him treated him with increased reverence and distinction. Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Asoka tope above 100 feet high where the Buddha had once defeated Tīrthikas by preaching, and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a sitting-place and exercise-walk of the Four Past Buddhas.

The *Ta-lo-p'i-t'u* of the above passage has been restored as Draviḍa, and the name of the capital as Kāñchi-pura. Cunningham regarded the capital as being represented by Conjeveram on the river Palār,[1] and Kāñchipura seems

[1] A. G. I. p. 548.

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to have been a former name of this city. Fergusson, however, thinks we must go on to Nagapatam[1] (Negapatam) and there is much in favour of this identification.

The Life has a few remarks about the capital which are worth quoting. It states—"Kāñchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days. Before the pilgrim left, the king of Ceylon had died, and there were famine and revolution in the land, and about 300 bhikshus had come from it to India. When they arrived at Kāñchipura the pilgrim said to them—I understand that in your country the Bhadantas expound the Tripiṭaka of the Sthaviras and the Yoga-śāstras. I want to go there to study. Why have you come away?" The bhikshus explained that they had left on account of the famine, and because they wanted to visit the Buddhist sacred places in India (Jambudvīpa) where the Buddha was born. They added: "*We know our fellow-religionists do not surpass us*; *if your Reverence has doubts inquire of us at your pleasure. Thereupon the pilgrim adduced important points from the Yoga scriptures for elucidation and* [*the Ceylon Brethren*] *could not excel Śīlabhadra's explanations*". For the passage in italics Julien has—"Nous savons d'ailleurs qu'ici les disciples de la *Loi* ne la transgressent jamais. Nous autres, vieillards, nous voudrions, lorsque nous éprouverons des doutes, pouvoir vous interroger librement". Le Maître de la loi leur cita les principaux passages du *yu-kia* (yōgacāstra); mais ils ne purent lui donner les explications de Çīlabhadra". The text is not very clear but it cannot be made to yield this meaning. As the passage shows, the pilgrim had told the Brethren from Ceylon that he had intended to go over to their island for instruction, and they reply that there are no Brethren there superior to them, and that the pilgrim may address his questions to them. It is implied that he can get all the guiding and information he wants without having to make the voyage to Ceylon. As the island was

[1] op. c. p. 265.

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in a bad state Yuan-chuang was probably pleased to escape the journey, and so he talked over important Yoga texts with these Brethren. He found, however, that they had no exposition to give better than that which he had received from Śīlabhadra.

As to Dharmapāla, the Life tells us that it was because he wanted to leave the world that he prayed before the Buddha's image for escape from marriage with the Princess. This Dharmapāla, whom we have met already, became, as Julien and the Life tell us,[1] a devoted student of Buddhism. He was also an author of repute and wrote treatises on Etymology, Logic, and the Methaphysics of Buddhism.[2]

MO-LO-KÜ-T'A (MALAKUṬA).

The pilgrim's narrative next proceeds to relate that from Kāṅchi city he went south above 3000 *li* to the *Mo-lo-kü-t'a* (Malakuṭa) country. This country he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit with a capital above forty *li* in circuit. The soil was brackish and barren; the country was a depôt for sea-pearls; the climate was very hot and the people were black; they were harsh and impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade. There were many remains of old monasteries, very few monasteries were in preservation and there was only a small number of Brethren. There were hundreds of Deva-temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects, especially the Digambaras, were very numerous. Not far from the east side of the capital were the remains of the old monastery built by Asoka's brother, *Ta-ti* (大帝) or Mahendra, with the foundations and dome, the latter alone visible, of a ruined tope on the east side of the remains. The tope had been built by Asoka to perpetuate the memory of Buddha having preached, made miraculous exhibitions, and brought a countless multitude into his communion at the place. The long lapse of time had served to increase the efficacious powers of the tope and prayers offered at it were still answered. In the south of the country near the sea was the *Mo-lo-ya* (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To

[1] Julien, I, p. 192. Life, *ch.* 4.

[2] Bunyiu Nanjio, Appendix I, No. 16.

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the east of this was the *Pu-ta-lo-ka* (Potalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as Maheśvara, and consoles the suppliant with this answer. To the north-east of Potalaka on the sea-side was a city, the way to Sêng-ka-lo (Ceylon) of the south sea, and local accounts made the voyage from it to Ceylon one of about 3000 *li* to the south-east.

The passage here slightly abridged in translation presents some difficulties, and does not agree with the Life. It seems to state that Julien personally visited the Malakuṭa country, while the Life represents him as only hearing about it. The words of the Life are—"Distant from the confines of this country (i. e. Draviḍa) above 3000 *li* he heard that there was the Malakuṭa country".[1] As this is not very clear, and as the direction is not given, we should not lightly accept the statement. There is nothing in the pilgrim's account of the country to show that he did not visit it, and see its capital and the district around, although he may not have gone to remote objects of interest. We must remark, however, that he does not tell us anything about the nature of the country between Draviḍa and Malakuṭa, and that in the next *chuan* he represents himself as continuing his pilgrimage from Draviḍa. He may not have gone to Malakuṭa, but the descriptions of the country, the people, and the Buddhist remains are evidently those of an eye-witness.

A note to our text tells us that another name for the country was *Chih* (⿰只)*-mo-lo*, not *Ki-mo-lo* as some editors represent. Cunningham says that "the province of Malayakuṭa must have included the modern districts of Tanjor and Madura, on the east, with Coimbator, Cochin, and

[1] Life, *ch.* 4. Julien, I, p. 193.

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Travancore, on the west".[1] The remarks of Fergusson on this part of our pilgrim's text are of little value, partly because he was misled by Julien's vagaries.[2]

Yuan-chuang, we have seen, mentions the ruins of an old monastery near the capital, which he says had been erected by Mahendra a brother of Asoka. If he had derived his information about this monastery from the Ceylon Brethren he would have called Mahendra (Mahinda) a son, not a brother, of Asoka. The account of this monastery, and its Asoka tope of which only the dome remained visible, is apparently that of a visitor at the time of the description. Then we have the Malaya mountain in the south of the country, and this must have been known to the pilgrim from the Buddhist scriptures. Thus the famous "Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra" purports to have been delivered by the Buddha "Laṅkāpura-samudra-Malaya-śikhare" which the Indian translator into Chinese renders "in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea".[3] A mountain of this name is given as in the southern division in the Bṛihat Samhitā, and is well known from its occurrence in Indian literature. It was famous for its sandal trees, and Malayaja is a name for sandal-wood. Its name and that of the city seem to have been transferred to Ceylon, where we find a Malaya mountain and district, and a Laṅkā mountain and city,[4] but Laṅkā is commonly used as the name of a city. We are not required, however, to believe that the Malaya mountain associated with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, the gospel of Madhyamika Mahāyānism, was an actual geographical unit. It was in reality a poetical creation to which the semblance of earthly reality was given by the use of well known names, a district of Utopia with a topical definition. It had no existence except as the scene of the great

[1] A. G. I. p. 549.
[2] op. c. p. 266.
[3] No. 176. See also Nos. 175, 177.
[4] e. g. *chuan* XI of the Records.

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assembly in which Rāvaṇa, king of Rākshasas, and Mahāmati the Bodhisattva, elicit from Buddha the strange theories of universal negation. But we find Malaya also given as the name of a country which is apparently the Draviḍa of our pilgrim and other authorities. Thus the great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in A. D. 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, the palace of Kuan-yin, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñchi.[1]

Our pilgrim next mentions the Potalaka mountain to the east of the Malayagiri, and this also must have been known to him from his study of the sacred books. In that very delightful sūtra known in Chinese by its short title "Hua-yen-ching" he had read of this chosen abode of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa. In this sūtra also Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhabhadra (A. D. 420) calls Kuanyin's mountain *Kuang-ming* (光明) or "Brilliance", which is usually given as the rendering for *Malaya*, but a later translator, Śīkshānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka.[2] This mountain is called in translation "White flower mountain", "Island mountain", "Hill of the shrub with small flower"; it is also called Potala, and a city of unknown antiquity at the mountain bears its name. Potalaka mountain appears as a favourite resort of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva for a long time, and Tāranātha makes mention of several visits paid to the Bodhisattva by pious Buddhists. Śāntivarman by divine help reached the summit of the mountain, and found the palace of the Bodhisattva deserted; another pilgrim saw only the stone image of the Bodhisattva, and another heard the music made for the Bodhisattva by Nāgas and Asuras.[3] Here again the Potalaka of the scriptures, the

[1] Sung-kao-sêng-chuan, *ch.* 1.

[2] Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-Hua-yen-ching, *ch.* 50 (No. 87); Ta-fang-kuang-Fo-Hua-yen-ching, *ch.* 68 (No. 88).

[3] Tār. S. 141 ff., S. 157, 223. See also Beal in J. R. A. S. Vol. XV, p. 333 ff.

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inaccessible mountains of cliffs and ravines guarded by gods and demons and sacred to Avalokiteśvara, is not to be identified with any one of the mountains by the sea-side in South India.

The seaport which our pilgrim mentions as being to the north-east of Potalaka is said in the Fan-chih to be "the old Sêng-ka-lo". If this statement be correct it is interesting information, and helps to explain some difficulties. The port was evidently to the pilgrim's mind near the south point of India, and this agrees with a statement in the T'ang-Shu to the effect that the Malaya (Mê-lai 沒來) country was in the extreme south of India. In connection with the name given to the port it may be noticed that in the Bṛihat Saṃhitā and other works Laṅkā is treated as a city or island quite distinct from Siṃhala.[1] But the direction from this port to Ceylon is not quite correct, and the distance, 3000 *li* (about 600 miles) is far too great.

[1] See Fleet, op. c., p. 183.

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CHAPTER XVII.

(CHUAN XI.)

CEYLON.

According to the Records the pilgrim proceeded from Malakuṭa to Sêng-ka-lo or Ceylon, but the Life represents him as merely *hearing* of that country. If we had only the Records we should be at liberty to believe that he proceeded to Ceylon, and returned thence to Draviḍa. But it is perhaps better to regard him as writing about Malakuṭa and Ceylon from information given to him in Draviḍa, and from books. There seems to be much in *Chuan* X and XI that is not genuine, and it may be observed that in certain old texts like C these two *chuan* are given without mention of Pien-chi as compiler. They are also, together with *Chuan* XII, marked by the character *yi*, meaning *doubtful*. It does not seem, therefore, to be necessary to dwell much on the curious legends and descriptions given in this part of the Records.

Of the legends about Ceylon related by the pilgrim the first tells how a princess of South India was carried off by a lion into the woods. To this lion the princess became mother of a son and a daughter, and in the course of time the son secretly carried off his mother and sister to the native place of the mother. Thereupon the lion, utterly distressed and enraged by the loss of his family, committed dreadful havoc in the land, and the son for the reward offered by the king killed his own father. When the king learned the circumstances, he banished the patricide, sending him away in a boat which brought him to Ceylon. Here the young man settled, and marrying a trader's daughter, he introduced order and government, and his descen-

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dants gave him the name *Lion-catcher*, which they applied also to the country. This was the story in the popular accounts.

The second legend is from the Buddhist scriptures. This tells of the 500 merchants being taken captive by the Rākshasīs of Ceylon, and of their chief and some of the others being carried away from destruction by the "Heaven-Horse".

We may remark about these two legends that they are well known from other treatises. In the Rājāvalī we have a version of the Lion-marriage which agrees pretty well with the story here told by our pilgrim.[1] It is given also in the Dīpavaṃsa, which makes the ravished princess to be a daughter of the Vanga King,[2] and it is referred to in other books. The second legend is related with artistic skill in the "Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching". It is told also in the "Jātaka", and in the "Liu-tu-chi-ching".[3] In all these, as in the pilgrim's story, the wonderful horse called Cloud-horse, or Horse-king, is the Bodhisattva, that is, the Buddha in a former existence. But in the Tibetan version of the legend the rescuing horse is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva,[4] and in the Divyāvadāna he is Maitreya.[5]

Our pilgrim now goes on to describe the Buddhist Brethren in Ceylon, the result of Mahendra's mission-work, as Mahāyānist Sthaviras. Above 200 years after Mahendra's time, he continues, too much attention to peculiarities made two sects, the Hīnayānist school of those who belonged to the Mahāvihāra, and the school of those who belonged to the Abhayagiri and embraced both "vehicles". The Brethren, he adds, were very precise in the observance of their rules, perfectly clear in meditation and wisdom, and very grave in their model deportment.

On this passage we observe that the expression "Mahāyānist Sthavirās" is applied to the Brethren of Ceylon

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[1] Upham 'Sacred Books of Ceylon', Vol. II, p. 27 and p. 164; J. Ceylon B. R. A. S. Vol. VII, p. 66 ff.

[2] Dīp. IX.

[3] Hsing-chi-ching, *ch.* 49 (No. 680); Jāt. Vol. II, p. 127; Liu-tu-chi-ching, *ch.* 6 (No. 143).

[4] J. R. A. S. Vol. XX, p. 504.

[5] Divyāv. p. 524.

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only in the Records; the Life describes them as Mahāyānists and Sthaviras, and the Fan-chih calls them simply Sthaviras. The two local sects here mentioned derived their names from the monasteries in which they arose. Of these establishments the Mahāvihāra, which was at the capital, was built B. C. 306, and was evidently a very grand monastery with all kinds of comforts and luxuries. The Abhayagiri monastery was built in B. C. 89 by king Vaṭṭagāmini, otherwise Abhaya, at the place where the Nirgrantha Giri dwelt. In the course of time ill-will arose between the Brethren of these establishments, and some of the Abhayagiri fraternity were accused of heterodox ways, excommunicated, and banished. Then in the reign of Mahāsena the monks of Mahāvihāra were accused of heterodoxy, the monastery was closed and partially destroyed, the materials being used for the improvement of the rival establishment Abhayagiri.[1] The Brethren of this latter may have been regarded by the pilgrim as having had Mahāyānist tendencies on account of their admission of irregular objects of worship. In the high praise which he gives all the Brethren in the above passage the term rendered by "meditation and wisdom" is *ting-hui* (定慧). In common Buddhist use *ting* denotes *samādhi*, and *hui* is for *prajnā* or "transcendental wisdom", but the compound *ting-hui* has also the technical sense of *Vinaya*, and it is perhaps so used in this passage.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to describe that beside the king's palace was the Buddha's Tooth-Shrine some hundreds of feet high, bright and beautiful with gems and jewels. From its roof rose a signal-post on the top of which was a large ruby which shed a brilliant light, and could be seen shining like a bright star, day and night, for a great distance. Three times a day the king washed the tooth with scented water and burned incense to it, all articles used in his service to the tooth being rare and costly. Beside this temple was a small one with a gold life-size image of the Buddha set up by a former king, the ushṇīsha of the image being adorned with a valuable jewel. The

[1] See Mah. chs. XV, XXXVI, XXXVII; Dīp. *ch.* XIX. Cf. Fo-kuo-chi, *chs.* 38, 69.

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mention of this gives occasion for the story of the thief to whom the image, overcome by the thief's persuasion, bowed down his head and gave up the jewel.

The Records further tell us that Ceylon lay on the side of a corner of the sea, and that in the south-east angle of the land was the *Lêng-ka* or Laṅkā mountain on which the Buddha delivered the sūtra which bears the name of the mountain.

The account in the Records proceeds to relate that over the sea some thousands of *li* to the south of the [Sêng-ka-lo or Siṃhala] country was the *Na-lo-ki-lo-chou* (for Nālikila- or Nārikira-dvīpa, "Cocoa-nut Island"). The inhabitants of this island were dwarfs three feet high with human bodies and bird-beaks; they did not raise any crops and subsisted on cocoa-nuts. Westward from this island, some thousands of *li* over the sea, was an isolated isle. On the cliff which formed the east side of this isle was a stone sitting image of Buddha above 100 feet high facing east, the ushṇīsha of the image being a *yue-ai-pao* or "Moon-loved Pearl" (the Chandrakānta gem). From this rare ornament while the moon shone on it water gushed forth, and falling down the cliff ramified in the valleys. This information had been derived from a shipwrecked trader who had climbed the cliff to make personal examination. To the west of the [Siṃhala] country, and some thousands of *li* over the sea, was the Great Precious-substances Island, uninhabited by human beings, but a temporary lodging-place for supernatural creatures. From this island a bright light shines far out on calm nights, but traders who visit the island do not get anything.

It is interesting to notice that the writer of this account of *Sêng-ka-lo* or Siṃhala seems to regard the district as a country on the mainland. He represents it as "bordering on a corner of the sea" (*Kuo-p'in-hai-yü* 國濱海隅), and all his description of the country seems to indicate that he regarded it as a part of the continent. At the end of *Chuan* X, however, Sêng-ka-lo is said to be 3000 *li* by sea from Malakuṭa, and in the legends given in the present *chuan* about the country it is styled the "Island of Precious substances", a name derived from Buddhist books.

In the passage now under notice we are told that the *Lêng-ka-ching* or Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra was delivered on the Laṅkā mountain in Sêng-ka-lo, whereas this sūtra professes, as we have seen, to have been uttered in the city of

Laṅkā on the Malaya mountain. We do not seem to know anything about the Cocoa-nut Island, and the isle with the great image of Buddha having a chandrakānta on the top of its head, and the Great Precious-substances Island, except from the mention of them in this passage. Our pilgrim evidendly derived all his information about them, as about Ceylon, from books, and the stories of the Brethren from Ceylon whom he met in Draviḍa and the Brethren of the latter country.

KUNG-KAN-NA-PU-LO.

We return again to the narrative of the pilgrim's travels as told in the Records. From the Draviḍa country, we read, he went north into a jungle, infested by troops of murderous highwaymen, passing an isolated city and a small town, and after a journey of above 2000 *li* he reached the *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*na-pu-lo* country. He describes this country as being above 5000 *li* and its capital above thirty *li* in circuit. It had more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and above 10 000 Brethren who were students of both "Vehicles". Close to the capital was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery was a tiara of Prince Sarvārthasiddha (that is, the prince who afterwards became Gautama Buddha) which was nearly two feet high adorned with gems and enclosed in a case; on festival days it was exhibited and worshipped, and it could emit a bright light. In the temple of another monastery near the capital was a sandal-wood image of Maitreya made by the arhat Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi. To the north of the capital was a wood of tāla trees above thirty *li* in circuit, and within the wood was a tope where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise, and near this was the tope over the relics of Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi. Near the capital on the east side was a tope which had associations with the Buddha's preaching; to the south-west of the capital were an Asoka tope at the spot where Śroṇaviṃśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts, and beside the tope the remains of a monastery built by that arhat.

In the Chinese text of this passage for the *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*na-pu-lo* of the other texts, the D has *T'u* (that is, *Da*) *han-na-pu-lo*, the Life has *Kan* (or *Kin*)-*na-pú-lo*, and the Fang-chih has *Kung-ta-nâ-pu-lo*; but we may

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regard *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)-*na-pu-lo*, as the correct reading, the variations being probably misprints or copyists' errors. The original name has been restored as Koṅkaṇapur, and the restoration has been generally accepted. In all texts of the Records, and in the Fang-chih, the direction from Draviḍa is given as north, but the Life makes it to have been north-west. M. Saint-Martin, Cunningham, and their successors all adopt the direction given in the Life, passing over the statement in the Records. Saint-Martin thinks it possible that Banavasi (or Vāṇavasa) may have been the Koṅkaṇa-city of our pilgrim.[1] Cunningham suggests "Annagundhi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river" as the capital of the country, and Fergusson can only refer the capital to some place in Mysore.[2] Mr. Burgess is disposed to seek for Koṅkaṇapur about Kopal or Kokanūr (? Koṅkanūr) which is 310 miles as the crow flies from Kāñchi and 335 miles from Nāsik;" this seems to be also the present opinion of Dr. Fleet who was at one time disposed to identify Koṅkaṇapur with Karnūl.[3] But these identifications seem to be all beset with difficulties. The country Koṅkaṇa was in the southern division of the Bṛihat Samhitā, and Alberuni places it in the south near the sea.[4] If we could adopt the reading of the D text, viz-*T'u* (茶) or *Ch'a* (茶) for *Kung*, the original would be a word like Dakkanapura or Thakkanapura.

The pilgrim describes the country as having a fertile soil yielding good crops, with a hot climate; its inhabitants were of swarthy complexion and had rude rough ways, but they were fond of intellectual and moral acquirements.

Our pilgrim here, as before, gives "Heard 200 koṭi", instead of "Heard twenty koṭi", as the translation of the name Śroṇa (or Śrota)-viṃśatikoṭi.

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[1] Julien, III, p. 401.
[2] A. G. I. p. 552; Fergusson, op. c., p. 267.
[3] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIII, p. 28 and XXII, p. 115.
[4] Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 301; Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII, p. 182.

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MO-HA-LA-CH'A (MAHĀRĀSHṬRA).

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim relates that "north-west from this he entered a great forest-wilderness ravaged by wild beasts and harried by banded robbers, and travelling 2400 or 2500 *li* he came to the *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* (or *t'a*) country". This country, he tells us, was 6000 *li* in circuit and its capital, which had a large river on its west side, was above thirty *li* in circuit. The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a kshatriya by birth, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-shê* (Pulakeśa, Julien). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śīlāditya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* refused to become subject to him. The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Of Buddhist monasteries there were above 100 and the Brethren, who were adherents of both Vehicles, were more than 5000 in number. Within and outside the capital were five Asoka topes where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise; and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick. Not far from the south of the capital was an old monastery in which was a stone image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa of marvellous efficacy. In the east of this country was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarried in the cliff and rested on the peak, its tiers of halls and storeyed terraces had the cliff on their back and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-chê-lo (Āchāra) of West India. The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Āchāra's life which led to the building of the monastery. Within the establishment, he adds, was a large temple above 100 feet high in which was a stone image of the Buddha above seventy feet high; the image was surmounted by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unaupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by the space of three feet. The walls of this temple had depicted on them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisattva,

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including the circumstances of his attaining bodhi and the omens attending his final passing away, all great and small were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes. The P'uṣa Ch'ên-na or Diṅnāga stayed much in this monastery.

The *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* of this passage has been restored as Mahārāshṭra, but the Chinese transcription seems to represent a local form like Mahāraṭṭha. Various identifications have been proposed for the capital by St. Martin, Cunningham, and Fergusson, and Messrs Fleet and Burgess seem to agree in thinking that it was at Nāsik or thereabouts.[1]

As to Āchāra's great monastery in the east part of the country Mr. Burgess and others are confident that the pilgrim's description applies to the Ajaṇṭā caves.[2] This may be so, but it may be doubted whether the Achala of the inscription given by Mr. Burgess is the A-chê-lo of the pilgrim's description. This inscription merely states that "The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain-dwelling for the Teacher, though his wishes were fulfilled". It is to be noted, however, that the pilgrim does not use the translation *so-hsing*, and his transcription may, as Mr. Burgess contends, represent Achala. All commentators on the pilgrim's account of this monastery seem to assume that he did not go to it, and the silence of the Life is in favour of the assumption. But the description, especially the part which tells of the temple of the monastery, seems to favour the view that he made a personal visit, and this view is apparently supported by the distance and direction of the pilgrim's next journey. There is not a word in the text to warrant the statement that he describes the monastery from report, and it was apparently on the spot

[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII, p. 113 and XXIII, p. 28.

[2] Arch. Sur. West India *chs.* IX, X; Cave Temples of India, p. 135 and p. 280 ff.

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that he learned its history, and heard the unsatisfactory explanations of its marvels.[1]

PO-LU-KA-CHE-P'O (BHAROCH).

Going on with his narrative the pilgrim relates that "from this he went west above 1000 *li* (about 200 miles), crossed the *Nai-mo-t'ê* river, and came to the *Po-lu-kie(ka)-che-p'an* (or *p'o*) country. This was 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li*; the soil was brackish and vegetation was sparse; salt was made by boiling sea-water, and the people were supported by the sea; they were mean and deceitful, ignorant and believers in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 Brethren, all students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.

The Life makes the pilgrim travel *north-west* from Mahārashṭra, and this is probably more correct than the *west* of the above passage. The name of the country here transcribed was restored by Julien as "Barou-gatchéva" which St. Martin made "Vāroukatcheva",[2] and Cunningham regarded it as the "Bhārukachha" of the old inscriptions.[3] This country is no doubt the Bharukaccha of the Dīpavamsa, and later Pali books,[4] but in the form Bharukacchapa as found in the Bṛihat Saṃhitā.[5] It is the modern Bharōch or Broach at the mouth of the Narbada, the Nai-mo-t'ê of our pilgrim. From Ajaṇṭā to Broach the distance is about 200 miles, and the direction is north-westerly. So we are perhaps justified in regarding the "from this" of the text as meaning from the mountain of Āchāra's monastery, a place to which the pilgrim would naturally be attracted, and at which he may have spent some days.

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[1] This country is the Mahāraṭṭha of Dīpavamsa. VIII, and of Vinaya Vol. III, p. 314.

[2] Julien, III, p. 400 ff.

[3] A. G. I. p. 326.

[4] Dīpavamsa IX, 26; Jātaka *passim*, See Index at VII, 116.

[5] See Böhtlingk-Roth, *sub voce*.

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MO-LA-P'O (MĀLAVA).

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from Bharukachcha the pilgrim went north-west above 2000 *li* to the *Mo-la-p'o* country. This is described as being above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital as being above thirty *li* in circuit. It was situated on the south-east side of the *Mo-ha* river. The people were of a gentle disposition, and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education. *Mo-la-p'o* in the south-west, and Magadha in the north-east, were the two countries of India in which learning was prized. In this country virtue was esteemed and humanity respected, and the intellectually clever were zealous students; there was miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were some hundreds of monasteries, and more than 20 000 Brethren belonging to the Sammatīya school of the Hīnayāna; of Deva-temples there were some hundreds, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Pāśupatas. The local records told of a king, by name Śīlāditya, who had reigned over the country 60 years before the pilgrim's arrival, a monarch of great administrative ability, and of rare kindness and compassion. By the side of his palace this king had built a Buddhist temple, extremely artistic in structure and ornament, in which were images of the Seven Buddhas. Every year a great religious assembly was summoned, the Brethren from all sides being called together. The four matters of service to the Brethren were carefully attented to, and these were presented with the three robes and religious requisites, or with precious valuables. This fine work had been continued for successive generations without interruption. Above twenty *li* north-west from the capital was the "brahmin's town", and beside it the "Pit of Descent"; the torrents of summer and autumn never fill the latter, and at its side was a small tope. The pilgrim then gives the local legend of the proud blasphemous brahmin of the town who went down alive into hell at the spot where the Pit appeared. This brahmin had been vanquished in public discussion by the bhikshu Bhadraruchi, who was a consummate logician, and well versed in the non-Buddhist śāstras. When the king condemned the defeated brahmin to be exposed, as an impostor, to a cruel death the bhikshu interceded, and obtained a mitigation of the punishment. He then went to see the brahmin to give him support and consolation in his shame and degradation, but the brahmin gave vent to his passion, vilified the "Great Vehicle" and abused former saints; while he was still speaking the earth parted, and he descended alive, leaving this trace (i. e. the Pit) of his descent.

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A note added to the text at the beginning of this passage tells us that another name for this country was "South *Lo*", and a note to the passage in the Life calls it "South *Lo-lo*". For the characters read *mo-la-p'o* here we must suppose on original like Mālabha or Mālava, but we cannot properly regard this name as covering the modern district of Malwa. It has not been ascertained yet what was the precise situation, and what is the modern designation, of the South Lo or Mālava country.[1] This (or as Julien translates, its capital), according to the pilgrim, lay to the south-east of the river called *Mo-ha* in all the texts (except D), and in the Fang-chih. In the D text we have *Mo-hi* which is the name of a well known river. The observation which the pilgrim makes in the above passage about the fame of Mālava and Magadha is apparently a quotation from some one who lived between those two countries, for Magadha is uniformly described as being in Mid-India, not in the north-east. The Mālava of the present passage may perhaps be the Mālava of some passages of Tāranātha, but it cannot be the Mālava in Prayāga.

Of the great Buddhist scholar and controversialist here mentioned by the name Bhadraruchi, (translated *Hsien-ai* (賢 愛) or "Eminent affection") nothing seems to be known beyond what we learn from our pilgrim's narrative. Yuan-chuang styles this man "a bhikshu of West India", and the Bhadraruchi of our passage seems to resemble in some circumstances the Bhadrānanda of Tāranātha.

A-T'A-LI.

Proceeding with his narrative the pilgrim relates that "south-west from this he entered an estuary, and going north-west 2400 or 2500 *li* he arrived at the *A-t'a*(or *-ch'a*)*-li* country". This, he states, was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. The inhabitants were rich and flourishing, they were more traders than farmers; the soil was sandy and brackish and fruits and flowers were rare. The country

[1] See A. G. I. p. 490; Fergusson op. c. p. 270; Fleet op. c. p. 184.

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produced a pepper-tree the leaves of which were like those of the *Shu-chiao*, and also the olibanum tree the leaves of which were like those of the *t'ang-li*. The climate was hot, and there was much wind and dust; the people were mean-spirited, prizing wealth and slighting moral worth. In speech and writing, and in social regulations and laws the inhabitants resembled those of Mālava; the majority did not believe in happiness (i. e. religious merit) but there were some who did; they worshipped Devas and of Deva-temples there were some more than ten (or, according to the B text, more than 1000); the followers of the various systems lived pell-mell.

The term here rendered by "estuary" is *hai-chiao* (海 交) which Julien translates "confluent de deux mers". This may be right but the expression denotes rather a place where a river joins the sea and so forms an estuary. In the Fang-chih instead of *hai-chiao* we have *hai-tao* or "sea-way", and the clause is a separate sentence—"from this, south-west, is an entrance to the sea". This may be the correct interpretation, the pilgrim merely making the general statement that there was a seaport or an estuary on the south-west side of the capital, and his description evidently applies to a maritime district. In the Life the estuary to the south-west is not mentioned, and the pilgrim proceeds north-west from Mālava, or rather from the brahmin's city, twently *li* to the north-west of the capital, direct to *A-t'a-li*. Although there does not seem to be anything in the texts to support the view, yet we may with some probability assume that the pilgrim did not actually proceed to this country; there was no Buddhist sacred spot in it to attract him, and it was out of his way. Julien restores the original name of the country as Aṭali, but the characters may represent a word like Aḍal, or Akshal, or Aṭli, and the country here described still remains unidentified. It produced, the pilgrim tells us, a pepper-tree which had leaves like the *Shu* (that is, Ssŭ-chuan)-*chiao*, a species of Xanthoxylon, the fruit of which possesses properties like those of the pepper-plant. There was also the olibanum tree which he calls *hün-lu* (熏 陸), a Chinese transcription of the Turkish word *ghyunluk*, as Dr. Hirth

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has shown. This tree, the pilgrim states, had leaves like the *t'ang-li* (棠梨), a name applied in China to a Pyrus and other trees. By his statement that "the majority of the people did not believe in happiness", he merely wished to intimate that they did not believe in karma, and so were not Buddhists.

K'I-T'A.

The narrative in the Records goes on to relate that from Mālava the pilgrim went north-west above 300 *li* (or, according to D, three days) to the *K'i-t'a*(or *ch'a*) country. This was above 3000, and its capital above 20 *li*, in circuit. It was a rich district subject to Mālava to which it bore a resemblance. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren who were adherents of both "Vehicles"; and there were numerous members of other religions, with several tens of Deva-temples.

In the Life the pilgrim goes on from Aṭali to *K'i-t'a*, and it makes the journey one of three days in a north-west direction; but the Fang-chih agrees with the Records in placing K'i-t'a three days' journey (that is, 300 *li*) north-west from Mālava. There is thus a serious difference between the Life and the other authorities. Julien suggests Khach as the possible restoration of the native name of the country. Cunningham in his usual manner alters the 300 *li* of the Chinese traveller to 1300 *li*, and makes K'i-t'a to be Kheda, "the true Sanskrit form of *Kaira* a large town of Gujarāt, situated between Ahmedabād and Khambay".[1] Fergusson dissents from this, and is inclined to place K'i-t'a about Cambay.[2] But there does not seem to be much in favour of either of these proposals, and the Khach, that is, Cutch, of Julien and St. Martin may be considered. In the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā there is a southern country called Kachchha which in Dr. Fleet's words, "is evidently the modern Kach, *vulgo* Cutch".[3]

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[1] A. G. I. p. 492.

[2] op. c. p. 272.

[3] Fleet op. c. p. 179.

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FA-LA-P'I.

Our narrative in the Records proceeds to tell that from K'i-t'a the pilgrim went north above 1000 *li* to *Fa-la-p'i*. This country, 6000 *li*, with its capital above 30 *li* in circuit, resembled Mālava in products, climate, and the character and ways of the people; and it was very rich and prosperous. It had above 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6000 Brethren adherents of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya school; of Deva-temples there were some hundreds, and the adherents of the various systems were very numerous. While Ju-lai was in the world he often visited this country, and so Asoka had set up topes at all the places where the Buddha had stayed in order to commemorate the event. There were also traces of the Three Past Buddhas having sat, and walked up and down, and preached. The reigning sovereign was of Kshatriya birth, a nephew of Śīlāditya the former king of Mālava, and a son-in-law of the Śīlāditya reigning at Kanyā-kubja; his name was *Tu-lo-p'o-po-t'a*; he was of a hasty temper and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism. Not far from the capital was a large monastery erected by Āchāra in which the P'usas Guṇamati and Sthiramati had lodged, and composed treatises which had great vogue.

The *Fa-la-p'i* of this passage, said in a note to the text to have been called also "North Lo-lo", has been restored as Valabhi (or Balabhi). Cunningham and others regard Bhaonagar (Bhaunagar) in the east part of Gujarāt as the site of the city Valabhi,[1] but Fergusson gives good reasons for not accepting this identification.[2] The "Lo-lo" of the Chinese annotator to our text may perhaps be for *Lāṭa* the name of a country which "corresponds to what might now be called Central and southern Gujarāt".[3] In his "Indian Empire" (p. 229) Hunter writes that "the Valabhi's ruled over Cutch, north-western Bombay, and Málwá from 480 to after 722 A. D.".

In the passage with which we are now concerned the pilgrim calls the reigning sovereign of Valabhi "a nephew of Śīlāditya formerely king of Mālava". For the word *formerly* here the original is *hsi* (昔) which has the meaning

[1] A. G. I. p. 317.
[2] op. c. p. 272.
[3] Fleet op. c. p. 183.

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of *former* or *formerly*. But the B text, and it alone, has instead of *hsi* the character *chi* (皆) meaning "all"; as the construction shows, this is evidently a printer's or copyist's mistake, and it makes nonsense; this mistake caused the serious misunderstanding of the passage to be found in Julien's translation. The king on the throne was the nephew and successor of the good king Śīlāditya, who reigned in the latter part of the sixth century and about sixty years before the time of Yuan-chuang's visit, ruling over Mālava and Valabhi. He was also, the pilgrim tells us, "a son-in-law of the Śīlāditya reigning then at Kanyākubja", Here the words rendered "son-in-law" are *tzŭ-hsü* (子壻) and Julien took these to mean "son-in-law, of son", but the phrase means simply "son-in-law", and the Life employs the common term *nü-hsü* (女壻). Julien transcribes the name of the reigning king by "T'u-lo-p'o-po-tu" and he restores the name as Dhruvapaṭu; this agrees with the translation *Ch'ang-jui* (常叡), or "permanent acuteness", added in a note to the text. But the name is *Tu-lo-p'o-po-t'a* or-*ch'a* (杜魯婆跋吒) which is perhaps for Dhruva-bhaṭṭa. In the Life we have the same transcription but a different rendering, viz. *ti-ch'ou* (帝胄) that is, "Indra's(?) helmet", and this seems to require a different restoration of the original.

The builder of the large monastery near the capital was the arhat A-che-lo of previous passages, and instead of Āchāra the name ought perhaps to be restored as Achala.

ĀNANDAPURA.

The pilgrim's narrative goes on to relate that "from this" (that is, the capital of Valabhi) he went north-west above 700 *li* to *A-nan-t'o-pu-lo* (Ānandapura). This country was above 2000 *li*, and its capital above 20 *li* in circuit, and it was rich and flourishing. It was a dependency of Mālava, and like that country in products, climate, written language, and institutions. In it there were more than ten Monasteries with nearly 1000 Brethren belonging to the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school.

It is not certain that Yuan-chuang actually visited this district, but there is nothing in the text or in the Life

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to indicate that he is describing merely from report. Cunningham proposes to identify the country with "the triangular tract lying between the mouth of the Banās river on the west and the Sābarmati river on the east".[1] The city of Ānandupura is probably the *Huan-hsi-ch'êng*, or "city of joy", mentioned as the capital of Hai-t'ien (海天) or "Sāgaradeva", one of the mythical royal ancestors of the Buddha.[2]

SU-LA-CH'A (SURAT).

Our pilgrim next relates that from the Valabhi country a journey of above 500 *li* west brought him to the *Su-la-ch'a* (or *-tha*) country. This he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above 30 *li*; it had the *Mo-hi* river on its west side; the inhabitants were rich and flourishing; it was subject to Mālava; the soil was brackish, and fruit and flower were scarce; although heat and cold were uniform, storms made disturbance; the people were of a rude violent nature, did not care for education, and their belief embraced orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were more than 50 monasteries with above 3000 Brethren, the majority being students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira system, the Deva-temples were above 100 in number, and the sectaries lived pell-mell. As the country was on the highway to the sea all its inhabitants utilized the sea and were traders by profession. Near the capital was the *Yüh-shan-to* hill on the top of which was a monastery with most of its various buildings quarried in the cliff; it was densely planted and watered by running streams; it was visited by saints and sages and in it congregated supernatural rishis.

Julien restored the *Su-la-ch'a* (or-*t'a*) of this passage as Surāshṭra, the modern Kāthiāwāḍ. Here again we have a book-term ascribed to the pilgrim who apparently uses the local or popular name. It would be better to read Surath or Suraṭha, the latter being the form used in the Andhra inscription of Nāsik. In the Life the direction from Valabhi to Suraṭha is north-west (instead of the west of the present passage) the distance being the same. All texts of this passage have the reading *Mo-hi*

[1] A. G. I. p. 494.
[2] Sar. Vin. P'o-séng-shi, *ch.* I.

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as the name of the river which was on the west of the country, or of the capital according to Julien's interpretation. The hill here called *Yüh-shan* (or *Yhu-shen*)-*to* was restored by Julien as Ujjanta. Cunningham states that this is the Pali form of Ujjayanta, and identifies the pilgrim's hill with the mountain of that name in Surāshṭra—"the Girinar hill that rises above the old city of Junagarh".[1] This city, called by other writers, Junāgaḍh, is supposed to correspond to our pilgrim's capital of his Surat. The name of the hill is also given as Ujjinta, which is nearer the Chinese transcription, and it was on this peak that the Jaina Arhat named Nemi died at a very advanced age.[2] It may be noted that the Fang-chih does not give the name of this hill, and the Life has no particulars about the country.

Here again the pilgrim uses the expression "Mahāyānist Sthaviras", but the Fang-chih has only the single term "Sthavira".

KÜ-CHE-LO.

Our pilgrim next relates that from the Valabhi country he travelled above 1800 *li* north to the *Ku-che-lo* country. This, he states, was more than 5000 *li* in circuit, and its capital named *P'i-lo-mo-lo* was above 30 *li* in circuit. The country was like Surath in its products and the ways of the people. It had a flourishing population in good circumstances, mostly non-Buddhists, only a few believing in Buddhism. There was only one Buddhist, monastery with above 100 Brethren who were adherents of the Hīnayānist Sarvāstivādin School. There were some tens of Deva-Temples, and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities.

In the Life the pilgrim is represented as starting not from Valabhi, but from Surath, and he goes thence north-east 1800 *li* to Ku-che-lo; the text of the passage reads—

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[1] A. G. I. p. 325. I cannot trace any such Pali form as Ujjanta. It is not in the list of names in the Julien Pali, Text Soc. 1888.

[2] Colebrooke, 'Essays' Vol. II, p. 191.

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"from this (that is Surat) going north-east 1800 *li*". In several editions of the Life the word for *this* has been left out, but it is in the D text. Then the Fang-chih agrees with the Records in making Ku-che-lo to be 1800 *li* to the north of Valabhi. Julien restores the Sanskrit name of the country as "Gurjjara", but the pilgrim probably transcribed a name like Guchala or Guchara. The name here given to the capital probably stands for a word like *Bhilmala*, and according to Saint-Martin the name is preserved in the modern Balmair (or Barmer or Bālmer). This city, Cunningham tells us, is "exactly 300 miles to the north of the ruins of Balabhi".[1]

WU-SHÊ-YEN-NA (UJAYANA?).

The narrative in the Records continues and relates that the pilgrim proceeded south-east from Guchala, and after a journey of above 2800 *li* arrived at the *Wu-she-yen-na* country. This country he describes as being above 6000 *li*, and its capital as being above 30 *li*, in circuit; in its products and in the ways of the people it resembled Surath; it had a rich and flourishing population. There were some tens of Buddhist Monasteries, of which the majority were in ruins, and only three or four were in a state of preservation; the Brethren, who were students of both "Vehicles", were above 300 in number; there were some tens of Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. The king was of the brahmin caste; he was well learned in heterodox lore, but was not a Buddhist. Not far from the capital was a tope at the place where Asoka had made a Hell (that is, a jail like a hell, as before).

The *Wu-she-yen-na* of this passage, restored as Ujayana, is generally supposed to be the wellknown Ujain or Ujjen.[2] In some of the canonical scriptures Ujain, written Wu-she-ni (嗢 遮 尼), is to the west of Kanoj, which lies between Ujain and Benares, and then between Ujain and Rājagaha lay the Kosāmbi district.[3] This Chinese transcription may represent the Pali word Ujjeni, the name of the

[1] A. G. I. p. 312.
[2] A. G. I. p. 489.
[3] Sar. Vin. Tsa-shih, *ch.* 23.

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capital of Avanti which was the residence of Asoka when he was Governor of Avanti.[1] If this Ujjeni be the Ujayana of our pilgrim we can understand the presence of a tope at the place where Asoka had a hell-prison.

CHIH-CHI-T'O.

Going on with his narrative the pilgrim relates that he went north-east from Ujayana above 1000 *li* to *Chih-chi-t'o* (Julien's *Chi-ki-t'o*). This country was above 4000 *li*, and its capital about 15 *li*, in circuit; the soil was rich, the crops were abundant, and pulse and wheat were products. The majority of the people were not Buddhists, but there were some tens of monasteries with a few Brethren; there were above ten Deva-temples and 1000 professed adherents of the other systems. The king, who was a brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers.

A note added to our text places this country in "South India". The Fang-chih makes the pilgrim go *east* from Ujayana 1000 *li* to this Chih-chi-t'o, but the Life and all the texts of the Records have *north-east*. Chitore is said to be the modern representative of Chih-chi-t'o. Cunningham identifies this with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Kajurāha or Kajūra which corresponds "with the modern district of Bundelkhand".[2]

MAHEŚVARAPURA.

The narrative proceeds to relate that from *Chih-chi-t'o* the pilgrim went north above 900 *li* to *Mo-hi-ssŭ-fa-lo-pu-lo* (Maheśvarapura). This country was above 3000 *li*, and its capital was above 30 *li*, in circuit. In its products and the ways of the people it resembled Ujayana; the people were not Buddhists; there were a few score Deva-temples, and the majority belonged to the Pāśupatas. The king was a brahmin, and was not a believer in Buddhism.

All the texts and the Fang-chih give the direction of this country from Chih-chi-t'o as *north*, but the Life makes

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1 Dīp. V , 15; Vin. Mah. VIII, 1, 27; Mah. *chs.* V and XIII.

2 A. G. I. p. 481; J. III, p. 408.

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it *north-east*, the distance being the same. Cunningham in his usual manner changes *north* to *south*, and then finds our pilgrim's Maheśvarapura corresponds to the old town of *Mandala*, "the original capital of the country on the upper Narbada".[1] This "Śiva's city" is said to have been in "Mid India", but it does not seem to have been known by this name to other authors.

SINDH.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to state that the pilgrim went back from Maheśvarapura to Guchala and from that proceeded north again through a wild rugged region for 1900 *li* and crossing the *Sin-tu* (Sindh) river reached the country with the same name. Yuan-chuang describes Sindh as being above 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital, *P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo* by name, as above thirty *li* in circuit. The products of the country were early wheat (in B text, millet and wheat), gold, silver, *t'u-shih*, and it had oxen, and sheep, and dromedaries, and mules; it yielded also various kinds of salt, red, white, and black, and a white rock-salt; the people of various foreign countries used the salt as medicine. The inhabitants were quick-tempered but upright, quarrelsome and vituperative and of superficial learning; they were thorough believers in Buddhism. There were several hundreds of monasteries and above 10000 Brethren all of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. Most of these were indolent worthless persons; of the superior Brethren who, leading lives of lonely seclusion, never relaxed in perseverance, many attained arhatship. There were above thirty Deva-Temples and the various sectaries lived pell-mell. The king, who was of the Sudra caste, was a sincere man and a believer in Buddhism. The Buddha while in this world had travelled in this country, and Asoka had erected some tens of topes as memorials of his visits; there were also monasteries or topes erected where the great arhat Upagupta, who often visited this country, had preached and taught. Among the low marshes near the *Sin-tu* (Sindh, Indus) for above 1000 *li* were settled some myriads of families of ferocious disposition, who made the taking of life their occupation, and supported themselves by rearing cattle; they had no social distinctions and no government; they shaved off their hair and wore the bhikshu garb, looking like bhikshus yet living

[1] A. G. I. p. 488.

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in the world; they were bigoted in their narrow views and reviled the "Great Vehicle". According to local accounts the ancestors of this people were originally cruel and wicked and were converted by a compassionate arhat who received them into the Buddhist communion; they thereupon ceased to take life, shaved their heads and assumed the dress of Buddhist mendicants; in the course of time, however, the descendants of these men had gone back to their old ways, but they still remained outwardly bhikshus.

In this passage, the reader will observe, the pilgrim represents himself as having gone back from Maheśvara to Guchala, and to have continued his journey thence north to Sindh. But the Life makes him return from Maheśvara to Suraṭha and go from that to *A-tien-p'o-ki-lo*, thence on to *Lang-ka-lo* and Pitośila and Avanta, and then from this last east 700 *li* to Sindh. Julien suggests Vichavapura as possibly the original for the name of the capital here transcribed *P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo*, and other restorations have been proposed, but no one seems to be perfectly satisfactory. The name given in our text moreover may have been a book name, and not current among the people at the time. Cunningham takes it to be another name for Alor the capital of Upper Sindh about this period.[1] General Haig writes—"Hiuen Tsang's Sindh, in fact, is not the Sindh of any period known to history, and his description of it is wholly irreconcileable with the facts which we gather from the contemporary history embodied in the "Tārīkh-Hind-wa-Sind".[2] He thinks that Julien's Sin-tu country must have included the Salt Range, and that its capital must be looked for somewhere in the Derajāt. In a Dhāraṇi Sūtra the "Mālava (*Mo-la-wan*) country and the Indus-river city" are mentioned, along with other districts, as places in which "Perfection" may may be sought.[3] According to I-ching *Sin-tu* and *Lo-t'u*, (or *-ch'a*) or Sindh and Lāṭa, were in West India and

[1] J. III, p. 409; A. G. I. p. 249 and 259.

[2] „The Indus Delta Country", p. 34.

[3] Fo-shuo-ta-pei &c. *ch.* 2 (No. 1060).

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Sindh lay between Kapis and Lāṭa, the latter being in Central Gujarat according to Professor Bühler.[1]

As to the strange inhabitants in the lowlands along the Indus the Fan-chih gives an account slightly different from the pilgrim's. The Fang-chih places the tribe on the side of the Black (*Wu* 烏) River, and makes the people to have been sheep-rearers; it adds that all of them, male and female, shaved off their hair, wore the monk's garb, and were outwardly bhikshus.

MOU-LO-SAN-PU-LU.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to tell that Yuan-chuang from Sindh went east above 900 *li* and crossing to the east bank of the Indus came to the *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* country. This country was above 4000 *li* and its capital above 30 *li* in circuit; it was a dependency of the *Che-ka* (Teka) country. It had a good soil and a mild climate; it had upright inhabitants who liked learning and led moral lives, but only a few of them were Buddhists. Of above ten monasteries most were in ruins and only a few had Brethren. Among the temples of other religions was a magnificent one to the Sun-deva; the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances, it had marvellous powers and its merits had extended far; there was a constant succession of females performing music, lights were kept burning all night, and incense and flowers were continually offered; the kings and grandees of all India gave precious substances as religious offerings and erected free Rest-houses with food, drink, and medicine for the sick and needy. At this temple there were constantly 1000 pilgrims from various lands offering up prayers. All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort.

The *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as Mulasambhura, but this does not seem to be quite correct. It is better, however, than the Mūlasthānipura of St. Martin and others, which is evidently an impossible restoration.[2] This Mūlasthānipura is the modern Multan which is far to the *north* of Sindh, whereas the *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* of the Records is 900 *li* (about

[1] Hsi-yü-ch'iu, *ch.* 1; Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei, *ch.* 1, and Takakusu pp. 9, 217.
[2] See Julien III, p. 410; A. G. I. p. 231 ff.

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180 miles) to the *east* of that country. The Chinese characters seem to represent a word like Morasampuru or Molasampul, the name not being necessarily a pure Sanskrit word. The Teka country to which this district was subject has already been mentioned in *Chuan* IV (above Vol. 1, pp. 286—291). This *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* country was probably commonly known by some other name.

PO-FA-TO.

Continuing the account the Records tell us that from *Mou-lo-san-pu-lu* the pilgrim went north-east above 700 *li* to the *Po-fa-to* country. This was, he relates, above 5000 *li* in circuit and its capital above 20 *li*; it was well peopled; was subject to the Teka country; its productions were upland rice, pulse, and wheat. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries and 1000 Brethren adherents of the two "Vehicles"; and there were four topes built by Asoka. By the side of the capital was a large monastery with above 100 Brethren all Mahāyānists. In this monastery the Śāstra-Master *Shên-na-fuh-ta-lo* (Jinaputra) composed the "Yü-ka-shih-ti-shih-lun", and in it the Śāstra-Masters *Hsien-ai* (Bhadraruchi) and *Tê-kuang* (Guṇaprabha) entered the religious life as bhikshus. This monastery was in ruins, having been burned by fire from heaven.

The *Po-fa-to* of this passage is supposed to be for *Po-lo-fa-to*, that is, Parvata. In the D text of the Life the reading is *Po-fa-to*, but in the other texts it is *Po-fa-to-lo*. In the Fang-chih this country is placed to the *east* of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu, but in all the texts of the Life and Records it is to the *north-east* of that country.

The treatise here ascribed to Jinaputra is not named correctly as its proper title is "Yü-ka-shih-ti-lun-shih", which has been restored as "Yogāchāryabhūmi-śāstra vyākhyā(-kārikā)".[1] It is a short commentary on a part of the "Yogāchāryabhūmi-śāstra" already mentioned. On the title-page of the Chinese translation made by Yuan-chuang the work is ascribed to *Tsui-shêng-tzŭ* (Jinaputra) and other p'usas. The treatise mentions works by Nāgā-

[1] Bunyiu Nanjio, No. 1201.

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rjuna, Deva, and Asanga, and we may with some probability assign Jinaputra to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

From the Life we learn that the pilgrim found a few learned Brethren in this place and remained two years studying the "Sammatīya-mūla-Abhidharma", the "Shê-chêng-fa-lun (攝正法論) and the "Chiao-shih (教實)-lun". Of these the first is apparently the No. 1272 of Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, and the names of the others are apparently not in the Catalogue.

A-TIEN-P'O-CHIH-LO.

The pilgrim next relates that from Sindh he travelled south-west 1500 or 1600 *li* to the *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* country. This he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit. Its capital named *Kie(ka)-chi-ssŭ-fa-lo* was above 30 *li* in circuit; it was away in the west on the Sin-tu (Indus) and near the sea; its houses were handsome and rarities abounded. The country had latterly been without a sovereign and was under Sindh. The land was low and moist and the soil saltish. There were above 80 monasteries with above 5000 Brethren the most of whom were of the Hīnayānist Sammatīya school. In the capital was a large handsomely ornamented Maheśvara Temple, the image in which had supernatural powers. As the Buddha had preached and taught in this land, Asoka had raised six topes in places associated with the Buddha's visit.

According to the Life it was from Surath that the pilgrim going westward travelled to this country, and from Po-fa-to he went south-east back to Nālandā. The Chinese transcription *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* has been tentatively restored by Julien as Adhyavakīla, but this cannot be right. The sounds of the characters give us rather a word like Ādīnava-chila which is a Sanskrit compound. Cunningham makes the country to be "the fourth province of Sindh which in the seventh century was *Kachh*", and he proposes to restore the Indian name as "*Audumbaṭira* or *Audumbara*, which Professor Lassen gives as the name of the people of Kachh". Julien restores the name of the capital as Khajīśvara, and Lassen makes it Kachchheśvara,

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which is probably the correct word; but Cunningham's restoration Koṭiśvara is quite impossible.[1]

LANG-KIE(KA)-LO.

Continuing his narrative the pilgrim tells us that from *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo* he went west for about 2000 *li* to *Lang-ka-lo*. This country on each of its four sides was some thousands of *li* in extent, and its capital called *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo* (窣堵黎颯伐羅) was above 30 *li* in circuit. The country had a fertile soil yielding good crops, and in climate and popular customs it resembled *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo*; it had a flourishing population and was rich in precious substances; it was near a bay of the sea and was the way to the "West-Woman-Country"; it had no supreme government, each valley having a separate government of its own, but it was subject to Persia. Its writing was very like that of India, but the spoken language differed a little; orthodoxy and heterodoxy were both objects of belief. There were above 100 monasteries and more than 6000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles". There were also some hundreds of Deva-temples, and very many professed Pāśupatas. In the city (i. e. the capital) was a large temple to Maheśvara, very handsome and held in geat reverence by the Pāśupatas.

Julien restores the name of this country as Langala, but as the last character is sometimes omitted, the name may have been something like Lankar. For the name of the capital Julien suggests *Sūnurīśvara* as a possible restoration. But this is based on the corrupt reading of *nu* (窣) in the Chinese transcription. This character is not an authorized one, and the reading in all my texts is *t'u* (窣 or 莵), which gives us *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo*. This is possibly for a word like Strī-īśvara or "Woman Paramount", or the *su-t'u-li* may be for *sthul* or *sthur*. The country according to St. Martin answers to the eastern part of *Mékran*, and "a branch of the Langga tribe still exists in the north of Biluchistan near Katch-Gandava".[2] Cunningham's remarks on this country and its capital are

[1] A. G. I. p. 302; Julien, III, p. 411; Haig's 'Indus Delta Country' p. 36.
[2] Julien, III, p. 412.

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in his usual style, and need not be quoted.[1] In the "T'ang Shu" we find mention of the country *Lang-ka-lo* with its capital *Su-t'u-li-ssŭ-fa-lo*, but there it is apparently in the south-east of India.[2] The "West-Woman-Country" of our text is evidently the "Strī-rājya" or "Woman-Kingdom" which is in the north-west division of the Brihat Saṃhitā.[3]

PI-TO-SHIH-LO.

Passing over the few remarks which give what our pilgrim learned about Persia, we take up the thread of his description of India.

> From *A-tien-p'o-chih-lo*, he tells us, he went north above 700 *li* to the *Pi-to-shih-lo* country. This country, he relates, was 3000 odd *li* in circuit, its capital being above twenty *li*. It had no government of its own, and was subject to Sindh. The soil was rather brackish and there were fierce cold winds; much pulse and wheat were yielded and little fruit and flower; the people were violent, their language was not that of "Mid India", they were not fond of learning, but they were true Buddhists. There were above 50 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 Brethren all of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya school. In an Asoka tope, in a forest about 15 *li* north from the capital, was a relic which emitted a bright light; the relic was one of the Buddha in his birth as a rishi when he was killed by the king of the country. Near this tope on the east side was an old monastery built by the great Arhat Mahākatyāyana, and near this was a tope to mark the place where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise.

The Life represents the pilgrim as going from Lankal to this country. Julien restores the name as Pitāśilā, and Cunningham, who turns this into Pāṭāśila, identifies the capital with "Haidarābād or Nirankot".[4] General Haig dissents from this and suggests Nagar Pārkar, the Thar and Parkar district of West India, as the country called by the pilgrim *Pi-to-shih-lo*.[5] May not these cha-

[1] A. G. I. p. 310.
[2] *Ch.* 221.
[3] Fleet op. c. p. 190.
[4] A. G. I. p. 278—282.
[5] op. c. p. 38.

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racters be the transcription of a name like Bida (or Bhida-)-śira meaning "cleft-head"? The name may have had reference to the Jātaka of which the pilgrim makes mention, and here, as on other occasions, he may have used a Buddhist designation unknown to ordinary Indian literature.

A-FAN-T'U.

The narrative in the Records goes on to state that from Pitāśilā Yuan-chuang went north-east for more than 300 *li* to the *A-fan-t'u* (or *A-pan-ch'a*) country. This country was about 2400 *li* and its capital above 20 *li* in circuit. It had no sovereign and was under Sindh. There were above twenty Monasteries with 2000 Brethren of whom the majority belonged to the Sammatīya school; there were also five Deva-Temples of the Pāśupatas. In a bamboo-wood not far to the north-east of the capital were the remains of an old monastery; here the Buddha had given permission to bhikshus to wear shoes. Beside the monastery was an Asoka tope still 100 feet high although the foundations had sunk out of sight. At its side was a Buddhist temple in which was a dark-blue stone standing image of the Buddha which on fast-days emitted supernatural light. Above 800 paces to the south of this was an Asoka tope in a wood; the Buddha once was spending the night here and feeling cold he put on a second suit of the three robes; he next morning relaxed the rule against bhikshus wearing double (or padded) garments. In this wood was a walking place of the Buddha; there were also numerous topes in a series where the Four Past Buddhas had sat. In the topes were hair and nail relics of the Buddha which emitted bright light on fast-days.

There is some doubt as to what was the pilgrim's transcription of the name of the country here described. The B and D texts give *A-fan-t'u* (阿畚荼), and C instead of *fan* has *pên* (畚), and in some texts we have *ch'a* instead of *t'u*. The Life has *Ho*(河)*-fan-t'u*, and the Fang-chih has *Fan-ch'a*, that is, *Fan-t'a*. Julien restores the name as Avaṇḍa, and we may provisionally accept this, or Avaṇṭa. Cunningham regards the pilgrim's country as corresponding to the region of Middle Sindh or Vichala, and its capital as the old city Brāhmaṇabad.[1] General Haig is inclined

[1] A. G. I. p. 270.

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to think Avanḍa was "somewhere in the Khairpur territory".[1]

In the statement that it was in a monastery here that the Buddha gave bhikshus permission to wear shoes the expression rendered by "shoes" is *Ki-foh-si* (亟縛屣). This term was taken by the native annotator to be a foreign one, and he interpreted it as meaning "boots" or "shoes", an interpretation which Julien naturally adopted. But the third character *si* is the common Chinese name for "sandal" or "shoe", and *Ki-foh* is a qualifying adjective. What this word means, however, is not clear, and we are not certain that the first character is correct. Instead of it one text of the Life, and the C text of the Records, have *chêng* (丞), which is apparently only a printer's mistake for *chi*, and the Fang-chih has *hu*(互)-*foh*. Considered as a foreign word *Ki-foh* has been regarded as another way of writing *Ki-p'a* (綺 帊), a foreign term denoting *felt* or *coarse woollen cloth*, and supposed to be the Turkish *Kebe* with that meaning. But this does not suit the circumstances and cannot be accepted. If the *hu-foh* of the Fang-chih be the correct reading this may represent a word like the Tibetan *Kō-ba* which means "leather". But it is possible that *Ki-foh* is merely a native term not written in the usual form, and meaning "secured by strings on straps". The proper form of expression and one frequently used is *Ki* (繼 or 繫 or 係)-*foh* which means "bound" or "attached" literally and figuratively. The *Ki-foh-si* would thus be "sandals with securing garters." This agrees with the Indian name for sandal which is *upāhanā* from *upa* and *ānah*, "to tie" or bind. The sandals originally permitted to the Buddhist Brethren were probably not of leather, but of a vegetable material, although some Vinaya texts expressly state that they were of leather. Those allowed to the Brethren of Northern cold countries were of leather, and were "continued" up the legs by stripes of cloth or leather. An illustration and some very

[1] op. c. p. 38.

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interesting observations will be found in Mr. W. Simpson's "Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi".[1] Now there is apparently no justification in the Buddhist canon for Yuan-chuang's statement that it was in Avaṇḍa that the Master granted to his disciples the indulgence of wearing foot-coverings of any kind. According to most of the Vinaya texts it was at Rājagaha that Buddha on the request of Śroṇaviṃsatikoṭi of Champā gave the bhikshus permission to wear single shoes, sandals with a single leather sole according to the Chinese texts. Afterwards also at Rājagaha Buddha, yielding to the petition brought by Koṭikarṇa from Avanti, a country hard, rough (and very thorny), allowed the Brethren of that land to wear several-fold sandals of leather.[2]

As to the other statement in the passage before us, that it was in Avaṇḍa the Buddha gave permission to the bhikshus to wear double or padded garments, this also is not in the Buddhist scriptures. In the Vinaya we read of the Buddha experiencing great cold one night near Vaiśāli, and instituting in the morning the threefold dress of the professed disciple.[3]

The *A-fan-t'u* of our author cannot be identified with the Avanti of the canon which is in some books a country in the south, in some in the east, and in some it is a vague border-land. But our Avaṇḍa may be the Avantaka which gave its name to the Sammatīya school, or a branch of the school.[4] This sub-school had ceased to exist before Vasubandhu's time, but we note that the pilgrim represents the majority of the Brethren in the country as being Sammatīyas.

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[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. XIV, p. 332.

[2] Vin. Mah. V, 1 and 13; Pi-ni-mu-ching, *ch.* 5 (No. 1138); Sar. Vin. P'i-ko-shih, *ch.* 1.

[3] Vin. Mah. VIII, 13; Seng-ki-lü, *ch.* 23; Ssŭ-fên-lü, *ch.* 38, 39.

[4] Rockhill, 'Life' pp. 182, 184; Wass. Bud. S. 85; Shih-pa-pu-lun (No. 1284).

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FA-LA-NA.

We next read that from Avaṇḍa the pilgrim went north-east above 900 *li* to *Fa-la-na*. This country he describes as being over 4000 *li*, and its capital over twenty *li*, in circuit; it was well populated and was subject to Kapis. The country abounded in hills and woods, and had regular crops with a cool climate. The people were bold, fierce, and low-minded; their language had a little resemblance to that of "Mid-India"; their religion comprehended orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and they had no love for knowledge. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries of which many were in ruins, and there were above 300 Brethren all Mahāyānists; there were also five Deva-Temples chiefly belonging to the Pāśupatas. Near the capital on the south side was an old monastery where the Buddha had preached and gladdened and stimulated mortals; beside it were places where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise. The pilgrim adds that he was informed by local report that a adjoining this country on the west was the *Ki-kiang-na* (稽薑那) country among mountain valleys, with local chiefs and no supreme sovereign. This country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses very large and highly prized by other lands.

The *Fa-la-na* of this passage may be restored as Varaṇa (Julien) or as Varṇa. St. Martin thinks the country corresponds to the modern Vanèh in the middle part of the river Gumal's course. Cunningham confidently identifies Varaṇa with Banu (Bannu) in the Kuram river district; he also regards it as identical with Fa-hsien's *Po-na*.[1] The *Ki-kiang-na* of the above passage has been supposed to be an unknown district called Kaikānān and Kikān, and conjectured by Cunningham to be "somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin and Kwetta". But all these proposed identifications by Cunningham are open to serious exceptions, and they do not seem to be reconcileable among themselves. According to the Life when the pilgrim left Avaṇḍa he proceeded east 700 *li*, and crossing the Indus, entered Sindh: from that he went back to Nālandā in Magadha, and thence to Prayāga as has been related in

[1] Julien, III, p. 414; A. G. I. p. 84—86; Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 14.

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a previous chapter. From Prayāga he resumed his journey, and passing through Jālandhara, Siṃhapura, and Takshaśilā came to the Indus again, and went on to the Capital of *Lan-p'o* (Laghman). From this last a journey of 15 days due south brought him to the Varaṇa of this passage. In a very mountainous country 50 *li* or 10 miles would probably be an average day's journey, and the river Gumal is above 150 miles due south from Laghman.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

(CHUAN XII.)

TSAO-KU-T'A.

At the end of *Chuan* XI the pilgrim tells us that from Fa-la-na he continued his journey north-west, crossed mountains and wide river-courses, passed small towns, and emerging from India after a journey of above 2000 *li*, reached the country of *Tsao-ku-t'a*. The next *Chuan* begins by describing this country as being above 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital *Ho-si-na* as being above 30 *li* in circuit; there was another capital named *Ho-sa-lo* of the same extent with *Ho-si-na*, and these two cities had strong elevated situations. The mountains with their river-courses stood high;[1] the cultivated lands had a high brisk situation; the crops were regular; early wheat was abundant, and vegetation was prolific; the land produced saffron and asa-fœtida; the latter plant grew in the valley of the *Lo-mo-yin-tu*. In the city Ho-sa-lo there were springs from which issued streams of water which the farmers used for irrigation. The climate was very cold, and frost and snow abounded; the people were excitable and deceitful; they were fond of accomplishments and were clever without intelligence (but according to B and D texts, without excellence); their writing and their spoken language differed from those of other countries. They paid worship to gods and also reverenced Buddha, the Canon, and the Order; there were some

[1] "The mountains with their river-courses stood high." The original here is *shan-chuan-yin-lin* (山 川 嶜 嶙), that is "mountains and rivers (or river-courses) of great elevation". But instead of *yin-lin* some texts have the reading *yin-chên* (隱 軫) making the clause mean "there is a succession of hill and valley". In this description as in several other passages of the Records it is not clear whether the pilgrim uses *chuan* in its classical sense of a large river, or to denote a river-course or valley.

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hundreds of monasteries, and there were above 10000 Brethren all Mahāyānists. The reigning king, who was a hereditary sovereign, was a true believer in Buddhism and was intelligent and studious. In this country there were above ten topes erected by Asoka; of Deva-Temples there were some tens; the adherents of the various systems lived pell-mell, but the Tīrthikas (*wai-tao*) were in the majority, and their disciples were very numerous; they worshipped the *Shu* (or *Chu*)-*na* deva who had come from Mount Aruṇa in Kapis to the Shu-na-hi-lo mountain in the south of this country.

According to the narrative in the Life here the pilgrim journeyed from Fa-la-na (Varana?) north-west to *A-po-kan*, and thence again north-west on to *Tsao-ku-t'a*. In the T'ang-Shu it is from Pitāśilā, and not from Varaṇa, that the journey is made over mountains and across river-courses for 2000 *li* north-west to the *Tsao-ku-t'a* country.[1] The native annotator to our text tells us that another name for this country was *Tsao-li* (漕利). From other sources we learn that in the time of T'ang-Chung-Tsung it was also called *Ha-ta-lo-chi* (訶達羅支), and that the T'ang Empress Wu caused this to be changed for *Sie-yuh* (謝颰), the name used in the T'ang-Shu. The *Ho-si-na* of our pilgrim's description has been identified with the modern city Ghazni, but more correctly perhaps with the old city Zabal near Ghazni in Afghanistan, and the river *La-mo-yin-tu* has been identified with the Helmand. But it will be noted that the distance from the valley of the Gumal to Ghazni is much less than 2000 *li* (about 400 miles). Cunningham, who adopts Saint Martin's identification of *Ho-si-na*, makes the second capital *Ho-sa-lo*, in the T'ang-Shu called *A-sha-ni*, to be the modern Guzra or Gusaristan on the Helmand.[2] The name *Tsao* (or *Ts'ao*)-*kiu-t'a* is explained by Cunningham in his usual manner by taking Tsao as the Turki pronunciation of *Ra*, and Kuṭa as agreeing with the last two syllables of

[1] *Ch.* 221; Ma T. l. *ch.* 337.

[2] Julien, III, p. 415; A. G. I. p. 39. See also "Afghanistan and its inhabitants", tr. Priestley p. 12.

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Sarasvati, Haraqaīti, and the Greek Arachotos, and we thus see that Tsaokuṭa corresponds exactly with the Arachosia of Greek writers. But as the first character of the name was also read *Chao* (or *Cho*), we may without doing violence to the Chinese characters restore the word as Jāguḍa, the name of a country famous for its saffron and also a name for saffron. The reader will remember that the "Saffron Tope" at the Bodhi Tree was originally erected by the leader of a caravan from *Tsao-ku-t'a*. This country, as the pilgrim intimates, was outside of India, and the Fang-chih rudely calls it a Hu (胡) or Tartar region. About the time of our pilgrim's visit there were dwelling in it Turks and people from Kashmir and Tokhara.

The story of how the god Shuna (or Chuna) went to mount Aruṇa in Kapis, and on being treated with discourtesy by the god of that mountain, left it for the Shunahila (or Chunaśira) in this country, is told in the first *chuan* of the Records, and in Ch. IV of the present work. Our pilgrim reports this god as being held in great awe, as having rich offerings presented to him and prayers made to him, not only by the inhabitants of Tsao-Ku-ṭ'a but also by votaries of all classes from other countries.

FU-LI-SHIH-SA-T'ANG-NA.

The narrative in the Records proceeds to relate that from *Tsao-ku-t'a* Yuan-chuang travelled north for more than 500 *li* to *Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na*. This country is described as being above 2000 *li* from east to west and 1000 *li* from north to south; its capital called *Hu-pi-na* was above 20 *li* in circuit. The country and its people were like Tsao-ku-t'a but with a different language; the climate was cold and the people were violent; their king was a Turk and a zealous Buddhist.

From this district, the pilgrim proceeds, he travelled north-east over mountains and across rivers, passing some tens of small frontier towns of Kapis to the *Po-lo-se-na* range of the Great Snow Mountains. This he describes as an exceedingly high range with steep, narrow, winding paths, and precipices that overlap. One passes from deep ravine to steep cliff; it is very cold even

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> in midsummer; you cut your steps in the ice; and a climb of three days brings you to the top of the Pass. A cold wind blows fiercely while massed snow fills the ravines; travellers may not make a halt; even the birds in their migrations cannot continue their flight here and have to descend and walk. As you look down on the hills below they seem mere mounds. This is the highest mountain in Jambudvīpa; it is absolutely tree-less, there is only a forest of rocky peaks.

The *Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na* of this passage has been tentatively restored by Julien as Vṛijisthāna, and St. Martin restoring the name as Vardasthāna has identified the country with that of the Vardaks (Wardaks) about 40 miles north of Ghazni.[1] This restoration seems to be impossible and Julien's suggestion is interesting but doubtful. Cunningham identifies the country with the Kabul district and restores the pilgrim's name for it as Urddhasthāna, a restoration in favour of which nothing can be said.[2] Then St. Martin identifies the capital of this country, *Hu-pi-na*, with the modern Hupian or Opian, while Cunningham restores the name as Kophene and makes the city to be Kabul. In the D text of the Life the country is called *Fo-li-shih* (佛栗氏)-*sthāna*, and in the other texts we have *Fo-li-shih-kuo* and *Sa-t'ang-na* (sthāna)-*kuo*. The insertion of *kuo*, "country" after *Fo-li-shih* is probably due to a copyist or printer, but this transcription does not seem to suit the restoration Vṛijisthāna. The T'ang-Shu, quoting the pilgrim's account, writes the name of the country as it is in the texts of the Records, but in other passages the historian seems to call the country *Hu-shih-kien* (護時健).[3] This term perhaps represents a word like Gozkand, and it may give the local and popular name, while our pilgrim uses the designation employed by the Buddhist Brethren. It is in favour of the restoration Vṛijisthāna that the three characters which make Vṛiji here are those used by Yuan-chuang to transcribe this

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[1] Julien, III, p. 416.
[2] A. G. I. p. 33 ff.
[3] *Ch.* 221.

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word as the name of the Vṛiji or Vajjian people who lived in the Vesāli country. But Yule takes the transcription of the present passage to be possibly for Parāchisthāna, the Parāchis being one of the many tribes which inhabited the villages and districts of Kabul at the time of Baber.[1] This tribe, which was a distinct race with a language of its own, may have given its name to the district it occupied, but the characters Fu-li-shih cannot be taken to represent Parāchi.

The great mountain here described by the pilgrim with a Pass over it is called by him *P'o-lo-se-na*. This may be for Bālasena or Varasena (Julien), and Yule thinks it is "the Parsiana of Ptolemy". But it is perhaps better to regard it as the book-name in use among the Buddhists in the monasteries. The Pass here described is, according to St. Martin, the Khevāk (Khawak) Pass over the Hindu Kush at the head of the Panjshir valley,[2] the Khawak or Khawk of our maps.

It is possible that the *Fu-li-shah* (弗梨沙) country mentioned in the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching is the Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na of our passage. The Buddha is represented in the above sūtra as placing his religion and its adherents in Fu-li-sha under the care of certain supernatural beings who accept the responsibility.[3]

AN-TA-LO-FO (ANDARĀB).

The narrative in the Records, continuing the account of the pilgrim's passage of the *Po-lo-se-na* mountain, states that he was three days descending and comming to *An-ta-lo-po* (or *-fo*). This country it describes as being old Tokhara territory above 3000 *li* in circuit its capital being fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit; and it was under the Turks. The region was a succession of hills with narrow valleys of cultivation; it was extremely cold but very fruitful. The people were violent and without social institutions; they did not acknowledge moral retribution nor

[1] J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 104, 278.
[2] Julien, *loc. cit.* e. c.; Baber p. 139.
[3] Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching, *ch.* 55 (No. 62).

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honour students, but paid attention to Deva-Temples, and Buddhism had little acceptance. There were three Monasteries with some tens of Brethren of the Mahāsaṅghika school; and there was one Asoka tope.

According to the Life the pilgrim went from Vṛijisthāna east to the confines of Kapis, where the king of that country made a largesse of seven days' duration. The pilgrim then resumed his journey and after travelling one yojana north-east arrived at the city *Ku-lu-sa-pang* (Gulsafan?); here he parted with the king of Kapis and went on north; after a journey of seven days he arrived at the summit of a mountain which was a medley of cliffs and peaks of all shapes. From this he continued his journey for seven days to a high range on the lowest part of which was a small village occupied by people who reared sheep as large as asses. From the base of this range was a path to another mountain which looked like a mass of snow; it was really white rocks, and on its top the air was piercing cold: there was no vegetation, no one could stand on it and birds could not fly over it. Coming down from this summit by the north-west side the pilgrim travelled for five or six days and reached the *An-ta-lo-fo-p'o* country. This form of the name, which occurs in all the texts of the Life so far as I have seen them, seems to represent an original like Antarabhava. But in all the texts of the Records and in the T'ang-Shu the reading is *An-ta-lo-fo*. The country with this name restored as Antarava (Julien) or Andarāb, is mentioned in the pilgrim's account of his outward journey, and it is evidently the Andarāb of Baber.[1] Yule thinks that the extent given to the district by the pilgrim in this passage is too great,[2] but we should probably regard the *li* in these mountainous regions as only about $^1/_8$ th or $^1/_{10}$ th of a mile. The pilgrim, we learn from the Life, made a stay of five days at the city of Andarāb (or Antarabhava).

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1 Baber p. 151.

2 op. c. p. 104.

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K'UO-SI-TO (KHOST).

From Andarāb, the narrative proceeds to relate, the pilgrim going north-west entered a defile, crossed a mountain range, passed several small towns, and after a journey of above 400 *li* came to *K'uo-si-to*. This country, which had been Tokhara territory, was above 3000 *li* and its capital above ten *li* in circuit; and it was subject to the Turks. It had many hills and narrow valleys with very cold winds; it had good crops and abundance of fruits and flowers, but the people were violent and unruly. There were three Monasteries, and a very small number of Brethren.

Instead of the "3000 *li*" here given as the circuit of this country the D text has "less than 1000 *li*", which is probably the correct reading. The country has been identified with the old Khost of which Baber writes more pleasantly than our pilgrim.[1]

HUOH.

From Khost, the description in the Records continues, the pilgrim going north-west crossed a mountain and a valley, passed several small towns, and after a journey of over 300 *li* reached *Huoh*. This country, which was formerly Tokhara territory, was above 3000 *li* and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit; it had no separate ruler and was under Turkish government. The land was level and farming operations were regular; vegetation flourished and fruits and flowers were exceptionally abundant; the climate was genial, and the people had honest ways but were excitable; they wore garments of thick woollen material (lit. felt and serge); the majority were Buddhists, a few serving the gods. There were above ten monasteries, and some hundreds of Brethren who were attached to both "Vehicles". The king was a Turk who ruled over the small states south of the Iron Pass moving about from one to another without any permanent city of residence.

The discription then continues. Eastward from this you enter the *Tsung Ling* (Onion Range) which is the centre of Jambudvīpa; on the south this Range connects with the Great Snow Mountains (the Hindu Kūsh), on the north it reaches to the "Hot sea" and "Thousand Springs", on the west to the Huoh country, and

[1] Baber p. 151; Yule op. c. p. 104.

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on the east to *Wu-sha* (烏鎩); in each direction it is some thousands of *li* and it has some hundreds of cliffs and ridges in a series with sombre inaccessible defiles; here frozen snow was perpetually accummulated and cold winds blew fiercely; the soil produced numerous onions, and hence the name; but according to another opinion the name was derived from the onion-blue hue of the cliffs.

The name of the country written *Huoh* (活) in the text of this passage, is in one passage of the C text of the Life, given as *Kuah* (括). These two characters were formerly both read *Kuah* or *Kuoh*, and it is probable that the name here transcribed was something like Kuoh or Guoh, perhaps the "Ghour" of M. Saint-Martin. It will be noticed that the bearing of this country from Khost agrees with the narrative in the first *chuan* of the Records. According to the Life the capital was on the south bank of the *Po-chu* or Oxus; and the T'ang-Shu treats Huoh as the name of a tribe.[1] Yule gives good reasons for rejecting previous identifications, and for finding the modern representative of our pilgrim's Huoh in the present *Kunduz*, the Kundez of Baber.[2] In the D text of the Records (and in the Fang-chih) the circuit of this country is given as 2000 *li*, not 3000 *li* as in the other texts.

The Ts'ung Ling or Onion Range described in the present passage of the Records is the Bolor Tagh and Karakorum Mountains of modern geographers. To the Chinese since the second century B. C. "Ts'ung-Ling" has been the name of "the high mountain chain which separates Eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, &c.) from Western Turkestan (Kokand and the land on the Jaxartes and Oxus)".[3]

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[1] *Ch.* 221.

[2] op. c. p. 99; Baber p. 139.

[3] Med. Res. Vol. I, p. 27 note.

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MÊNG-KAN (MUNGKAN).

The pilgrim appends to his description of the Ts'ung-Ling the statement that "going east above 100 *li* he came to the *Mêng-kan* country". This, he adds, was old Tokhara territory; it was above 400 *li* in circuit and its capital was 15 or 16 *li* in circuit. In native products and ways of the people the country was very like Huoh; it had no sovereign and was under Turkish rule.

The account in the Life makes the pilgrim set out from Huoh with a party of traders and after a journey of two days (that is probably, about 100 *li*) arrive at Mêng-kan. This country has been identified with Mungān (or Munjan) which "is still a feudatory province under Badakshān, on the slopes of the Hindu kūsh". Yule's remarks on the pilgrim's account are based on the mistake in Julien's translation which gives 4000 *li*, instead of 400 *li*, as the circuit of the district. But Yule's suggestion that the pilgrim's Mêng-kan is the modern *Talikhan* may perhaps be accepted: it cannot be the Mungān of Macartney's map, or the Minjan of Wood's map.[1]

A-LI-NI.

The narrative in the Records proceeding describes that to the north of Mungkan was the *A-li-ni* country. This country, which had been Tokhara territory, lay along both banks of the Oxus; it was above 300 *li* in circuit and its capital was about fourteen *li* in circuit; in its natural productions and in the ways of the people it bore much resemblence to the Huo country (Kunduz).

In the Life this little state is merely mentioned as one of the countries lying to the side of Mungkan. It was probably not visited by the pilgrim, and in the account of his outward journey, as we have seen, it is simply mentioned as the district immediately before Mungkan. Yule thinks that the country "must have been close to Hazrat-Imām", and as that district "formerly bore the name Ahreng or Arheng", he proposes to identify this name

[1] Yule op. c. p. 105.

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with the *A-li-ni* of our pilgrim's account.[1] But, although the situation may correspond, we cannot regard *A-li-ni* as a transcription of Arheng or Ahreng. It may represent a word like Alni or Arin, and it may possibly be another name for *A-li-na* (阿利那). This is the name of a great dragon which plagued the Brethren in a monastery of the country called *Ki-pin* (Ka-pin, the Kashmir and Kabul territory according to some), until a Brother of strictly pure life succeeded in coaxing him away.[2]

HOH-LO-HU.

The narrative in the Records continues—"east, to the *Hoh-lo-hu* country". This also was old Tokhara territory. It had the Oxus on its north side, was above 200 *li* in circuit and its capital was 14 or 15 *li* in circuit; the district was like Kunduz in natural productions and the ways of the people.

Yule identifies the Ho-lo-hu (that is perhaps, Rāhu) of this passage with "Ragh, still an important fief of Badakshān, between the Kokcha and the Oxus".[3] This district also was apparently not visited by the pilgrim: it is mentioned in the Life, along with the last country and the next one, as being to the side of Mungkan.

KIH-LIH-SEH-MO.

The description in the Records proceeds—From Mungkan Yuan-chuang went east across mountains and valleys passing several towns for above 300 *li* to the *Kih-lih-seh-mo* country, formerly Tokhara territory. This country was above 1000 (according to B, but in the C and D texts, ten) *li* from east to west and 300 *li* from North to south, its capital being 15 or 16 *li* in circuit. In products and manners and customs it resembled Mungkan, but its people differed in being of a very malicious disposition.

Notwithstanding the wording of the above passage we are not obliged to believe that Yuan-chuang actually went

[1] op. c. p. 106.
[2] Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 24 (No. 1263).
[3] op. c. p. 107.

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to the district here described. The Life, as has been stated, merely mentions it as one of the States near Mungkan. For the Chinese transcription the original may have been a word like Krism or Krisma, but Julien's restoration as Kharisma does not seem to be admissible. Cunningham identifies the district with Tālikān, St. Martin makes it "Ish-Keshm, at the lower end of the valley of Wakhān", and Yule "can only see in it the once well-known Kishm or *Kāshm*, the Province of *Casem* of Marco Polo three days from Talikan".[1]

PO-LI-HOH.

The pilgrim's account proceeds—To the north-east (in the D text, north) [of Krism] was the *Po-li-hoh* country. This was old Tokhara country, was above 100 *li* east to west by 300 *li* north to south, and its chief city was above 20 *li* in circuit. It resembled Krism in its products and the manners and customs of the people.

This country also was evidently not visited by the pilgrim; it is merely named in the Life as one of the districts to the side of Mungkan. The transcription of the name has been supposed to represent Priha (Julien), or Parika (Yule). Several identifications have been proposed, and Yule supposes that the district "from its relation to Kishm must have lain either immediately on the south bank of the Kokcha or just beyond that river. In the latter case it would lie between Rostāk and Faizābād, where now exists the Province of Pasākū or Shahr-i-Buzburg".[2]

HI-MO-TA-LO.

The pilgrim's description proceeds. From Krism he went east over hills and across valleys for over 300 *li* to *Hi*-(or *Si*)-*mo-ta-lo*. This country, which was old Tokhara territory, was above 3000 *li* in circuit; it was an unbroken succession of hill and vale, with a fertile soil good for grain and yielding much early wheat

[1] Julien III, p. 419; Yule l. c.

[2] op. c. p. 108.

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with prolific vegetation and fruits in abundance. The climate was very cold, the people were of a violent impetuous disposition; they did not recognize moral retribution; they were small, ugly, and without good manners; in the materials of their clothing—coarse woollen cloth (felt), skins, and serge—they rather resembled the Turks. Their married women wore as a head-dress a wooden horn above three feet high, with two branches in front one above the other; the upper branch represented the woman's father-in-law and the lower her mother-in-law; a branch was removed from the horn on the death of the relative represented, and when both of the husband's parents were dead the horn head-dress was laid aside.

The pilgrim continuing his account of this country tells us that those who had formerly made themselves kings of this land were of the Sākya stock, and the greater part of all west of the Ts'ung-ling had became subject to them; as this country was on the confines of the Turks it became influenced by the ways of the latter; the inhabitants moreover were raided while keeping their own territory, hence the people of this country became vagrants in other lands; there were some tens of strong cities each with its own governor; the dwellers in felt tents went about from place to place reaching westward to the Krism country.

The original of this passage presents some difficulties and the translation here given is not very satisfactory. The *Hi-mo-ta-lo* of this, and of two other passages of the Records, is translated in a Chinese note by "Foot of Snow Mountain", and restored as Himatala which has a similar meaning. But this name is probably derived from Buddhist books, or from Indian Brethren settled in the district, and there was presumably a local and popular name. Yule thinks we find a trace of the word Himatala in the name "of one of the still existing feudatory provinces of Badakshān, Daraim or Dara-i-aim". The account in the Life makes the pilgrim go from Mungkan east 300 *li* among hills and so on to Himatala, but as this account is evidently derived from the Records it is possible that there is a mistake as to the place of departure. In the Records' description of the pilgrim's journey out, Himatala is mentioned between *Ku-lang-na* and *Po-li-ho*. The Fang-chih agrees with the present passage of the Records in placing

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this country 300 *li* east of Krism, and 200 *li* west of *Po-to-ch'ang-na* (Badakshān).

In the pilgrim's description of the people of Himatala the words "did not recognize moral retribution" are for the Chinese *pu-chi-tsui-fu* (不識罪福), lit. "do not acknowledge guilt and happiness", and the meaning of the phrase is "do not believe in the action of karma". Julien translates the words "ne savent pas distinguer le crime de la vertu", but this is not what the text states. The form of expression, which we have met before, merely indicates ignorance of, or scepticism as to, or denial of, the doctrine of karma, and tells us that those to whom it is applied were not Buddhists.

The wearing of the conical wooden head-dress by the married women in Himatala as described by our pilgrim was a very peculiar custom. Among the *Ye-t'a*, supposed to have been of *Yue-ti* (Getæ) stock, and inhabitants of this region, the married women, we are told, wore a horn head-dress, but with them the number of knobs or horns indicated the numbers of their brothers-in-law who were also their husbands.[1] So also in the *Hua* (滑) country the married women wore on the head a carved wooden horn six inches high and adorned with gold and silver.[2] Among the Tartars the wives had a head-dress of a peculiar kind, apparently not very unlike those just mentioned.[3] William of Rubruck tells us that the Tartar married women "have a head-dress, which they call *bocca*, made of bark, or such other light material as they can find, and it is big and as much as two hands can span around, and is a cubit and more high, and square like the capital of a column."[4]

The pilgrim's statement about a Sākya or Sākyas having obtained forcible possession of the throne of this country

[1] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102; cf. Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.

[2] Ma T. l., *ch.* 338.

[3] op. c. p. 108.

[4] Rockhill's "Journey of Friar William of Rubruck" p. 73. Mr. Rockhill's note to this passage is very interesting.

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is explained in his account of the sack of Kapilavastu by king Virūḍhaka. Instead of stating that "the inhabitants were raided while keeping their own territory" the author probably meant to state that the Himatala people made raids into other countries while guarding their own borders. One of the kings of Himatala had, as the pilgrim relates in another passage, invaded Kashmir and murdered its king.[1] Then the words "reaching westward to the Krism country" are treated by Julien as a separate clause—"du côté de l'ouest ce pays touche au royaume de Kharism". There is nothing in the original for "ce pays", but *hsi-chie* (西接) seems to mean "du côté de l'ouest touche". The pilgrim, however, has already stated that Himatala was above 300 *li* distant from Krism, and we must apparently understand the passage as meaning that the nomads of Himatala had their temporary encampments as far west as the confines of Krism.

PO-TO-CH'ANG-NA (BADAKSHAN).

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that he went east above 200 *li* to the *Po-to-ch'ang (ch'uang)-na* country. This he describes as having been formerly Tokhara territory, as being above 2000 *li* in circuit with its capital, which was on a cliff, six or seven *li* in circuit. The country was an unbroken succession of hills and vales and it was covered with sand and stones; it yielded pulse and wheat and a great quantity of grapes, walnuts, pears, and plums. The climate was very cold; the people were valorous but without good manners and without education; they were ill-favoured and their garments were chiefly of felt and serge. There were three or four Buddhist monasteries with a small number of Brethren. The king was a sincere upright man with a profound belief in Buddhism.

The Life calls this country *Po-ch'ang-na*, but the pronunciation was probably nearly the same as the *Po-to-ch'ang-na* (鉢鐸創那) of our text, that is Patach'an or Badakshan. This latter is the restoration of the name given by St. Martin, and accepted by the other commen-

[1] See *Chuan* III.

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tators on the Records. Yule thinks that the capital may have been on or near the site of the modern Faizabad.[1] At the time of the pilgrim's visit, we learn from the Life, the weather was so severe that he had to make a halt of more than a month. In the D text of the Records, and in the Fang-chih, the region between Himatala and Badakshan is called a *ku* (谷) or "valley between mountains". The account of the pilgrim's outward journey makes Badakshan come after Dharmasthiti, and before *Yin-po-kan*.

YIN-PO-KIEN (OR -KAN).

From Badakshan, we are informed by the Records, the pilgrim proceeded south-east through a district of hills and vales for over 200 *li* to the *Yin-po-kien* country. This is described as old Tokhara territory, as being above 1000 *li* in circuit its capital being above ten *li*. It was a series of mountains with narrow valleys of cultivated land; in climate, products, and the character of the people it resembled Badakshan, but the language was not quite the same; its king was a bad, cruel man.

Julien restores the *Yin-po-kien(-kan)* of this passage as Invakan, and the restoration has been accepted. In the C text of the Life we have *K'a*(亻去)*-po-kan*, but the old reading is *Yin* as in the Records. Yule, after mentioning the identifications proposed by St. Martin and Cunningham, writes—"Direction and distance, however, antecedent and consequent, point not to Wakhán, but to Yamgán or Hamakán, the old name of the valley of the Kokcha from Jerm upwards."[2] The word here transcribed by the pilgrim may have been one like Impakin or Impakan.

KU-LANG-NA.

The pilgrim proceeds to relate that from *Yin-po-kan* he travelled south-east across mountain and valley by narrow dangerous paths for above 3000 *li* to *Ku-lang-na*. He describes this country as old Tokhara territory, and as being above 2000 *li* in circuit;

[1] Julien III, p. 423; Yule op. c. p. 109.
[2] op. c. p. 110.

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it resembled *Yin-po-kan* in the character of the country and in climate; the people had no civil polity and had bad dispositions; there were only a few Buddhists. The cliffs yielded much gold-essence ("d'or pur"), which was obtained by smashing the rocks. There was a small number of monasteries, and the Brethren were few; the king was a sincere upright man who reverenced Buddha, the Canon, and the Order.

The *Ku-lang-na* of this passage, restored as Kurana, has been identified by Yule with the modern Kuran or Koran, in the upper part of the valley of the Kokcha and "a sub-division of the province of Jerm, lying among the spurs of the Hindu Kūsh. In fact, it includes the Lazuli Mines".[1] Other forms of Chinese transcription are Kü-lan (俱蘭) and *Kü-lo-nu* (俱羅弩).[2] It is described as adjoining Tokhara, as being 3000 *li* in circuit, bounded on the south by the Great Snow Mountains (the Hindu Kush) and on the north by the river Kü-lu (俱魯). In A. D. 646 *Hu-t'i-p'o*, the rāja of this country, sent an envoy to T'ang T'ai Tsung bearing a letter in Indian writing.

TA-MO-SI-T'IÈ-TI.

From Kuran, the narrative in the Records proceeds to relate, the pilgrim going north-east over hill and through valley by steep narrow paths travelled more than 500 *li* to *Ta-mo-si-t'iè-ti*, which lay between two hills. This country, formerly Tokhara territory, was 1500 or 1600 *li* east to west and four or five *li*, (but in its narrowest part not above a *li*), from north to south. It lay along the *Po-chu* (Oxus) river, following the windings of the river; it was full of hillocks with sand and gravel everywhere; its winds were icy cold; the only crops were wheat and pulse and there was little vegetation; the country yielded many fine horses of small size but capable of long journeys. The people were ill-tempered and ill-favoured, and their clothing was of felt and serge; their eyes differed from those of other people in being of a turquoise hue. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries but very few Brethren. The capital, which was called *Hun-t'ê-to*, had a monastery built by a former king of the country by quarrying the cliff and filling up the gully. Our

[1] op. c. p. 111: Wood's "Journey to the Source of the Oxus," ed. Yule, Int. p. LXXXVII and p. 169.

[2] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 221.

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pilgrim then gives the conversion of this king to Buddhism by a mendicant missionary, and the consequent introduction and establishment of Buddhism. The shrine (*ching-shê*) of this monastery had a stone image of the Buddha over which was freely suspended a gilt copper canopy set with precious stones; this canopy moved with the worshipper as he performed pradakshiṇa to the image, and stopped when he stopped. Our pilgrim examined the walls, and questioned the residents, but could not learn the secret of the self-acting canopy.

The native annotator to our text here tells us that another name for *Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti* was *Chên-k'an* (鎮 侃) or *Huo*(鑊)-*k'an*, the latter being apparently the correct reading. He also tells us that the country was also called *Huo-mi* (鑊 蜜). This latter, written also *Hu*(護)-*mi*, is the name used in the T'ang-Shu[1] and by the pilgrim Wu-k'ung.[2] We may regard *Huo-k'an* or *Huo-mi* as the local and popular name, while that given by our pilgrim was probably known only to the Buddhists. The T'ang-Shu also records as another name for this country *Po-ho* (鉢和) which is taken from the Wei History and the travels of Sung-yun.[3] The latter traveller describes the country as being north of the Great Snow Mountain (the Hindu Kūsh) with high hills and deep defiles, as being extremely cold, its inhabitants living with their domestic animals in pits excavated in the earth. Julien suggests Tamasthiti as a conjectural restoration of our pilgrim's transcription, but we should perhaps restore it as Dhammasthiti. The name which Yuan-chuang gives to the capital is, as we have seen, *Hun-t'ê-to* (昏馱 多), but in the T'ang-Shu the capital of *Huo-mi* is *Han-ka-shên* (寒 迦 審), or in one text *Sai*(塞)-*ka-shên*. It is described as being to the south of the Oxus, but Sung-yun tells us that the hill was turned into the city. Yule agrees with Cunningham in identifying Dhammasthiti with Wakhan, the long valley of the Wakh, taking in also the upper part of the Chitral valley.[4] The

[1] *Ch.* 221.
[2] Shih-li-ching and J. A. Vol. VI, p. 347.
[3] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102; Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.
[4] op. c. p. 112.

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Chinese name *Huokhan* seems to be merely a transcription of Wakhan, and *Po-ho* may be for Wakh pronounced Vakh.

The Records, as we have seen, make this country to be only from one to four or five *li* wide (from north to south), but in the Fang-chih it is from ten to nearly 100 *li* from north to south.

SHIH-K'I-NI.

The pilgrim continues—"Crossing a mountain of Dhammasthiti (Wakhan), one goes north to *Shi-k'i-ni*". This country he describes as above 2000 *li*, and its capital as five or six *li*, in circuit; it was a succession of hills and vales with sand and stone wastes everywhere. There was much pulse and wheat, but little of other crops; trees were rare and there were very few flowers or fruits; the climate was very cold; the people were given to robbery and murder and did not recognize social proprieties or moral distinctions, erring as to future retribution they feared the [punitive] misfortunes of this life. They were ill-favoured, wore skins and serge; and they had a writing like that of Tokhara, their spoken language being different.

In the first *Chuan* of these Records *Shih-k'i-ni* is apparently to the immediate south of the country called *Kou-mi-t'ê*. The T'ang-Shu calls the district *Shi-ni* (識匿), and gives *Sê-ni* (瑟匿) and our *Shih-k'i-ni* as other names.[1] These three are probably different transcriptions of a word like Sikhni or Sighni. At one time the country had a capital called *K'u-han* (苦汗), but in the course of time the inhabitants dispersed themselves among the five mountain valleys of the country. Each valley had its own chief and capital and so the district came to be called the *Five Shi-ni*.[2] The *Shih-k'i-ni* of our pilgrim has been identified with the modern Shaghan or Shighnan, and Yule says there can be no doubt about it, the gentile adjective of Shighnan being Shighni with which the Chinese form is identical.[3] This is evidently the district which

[1] *Ch.* 221.

[2] *Ch.* 221.

[3] Julien III, p. 292; Yule op. c. p. 113.

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was in the "Pamir Valley" according to Wu-k'ung, who calls it the "Five *Chi-ni*" (五赤匿), a note adding that another name was *Shi*(式)-*ni*.[1] The features and character of the modern Shighnan do not seem to agree with the description of Shighni by our pilgrim, but we must remember that Yuan-chuang is apparently describing from hearsay.

SHANG-MI.

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to tell us that passing through Dhammasthiti to the south of a mountain you come to the *Shang-mi* country. This he describes as being 2500 or 2600 *li* in circuit, with alternating hills and vales, and with hillocks of various sizes. All crops were grown in it, pulse and wheat being very abundant, and there was plenty of grapes; it yielded realgar which was obtained by breaking up the rocks. The mountain gods were malicious and caused disasters; if travellers offered them worship the travellers had good luck, but if they did not worship then they encountered storm and hail. The climate was cold, the people were rash in their ways; they were upright, without ceremonial observances and with narrow views and slight accomplishments; they had the same writing as Tokhara, but their spoken language was different; they chiefly wore coarse woollen garments. Their king was of the Sākya stock and was a Buddhist, and under his influence the people had all become genuine believers; there were two monasteries with a few Brethren.

To the north-east of Shang-mi, the account in the Records continues, across mountains and defiles by dangerous paths at a distance of above 700 *li*, was the *Po-mi-lo* Valley. This was above 1000 *li* east to west, and 100 *li*, but in its narrowest part not more than ten *li*, from north to south. It was between two Snow Mountains and so had fierce chilling winds and snow-storms, spring and summer; the soil was saltish with much gravel. As there was no cultivation, and scarcely any vegetation, the place had become a mere waste destitute of human inhabitants. In this Valley was a large Dragon Lake above 300 *li* east to west and 50 *li* north to south. As the lake was in the Ts'ung-ling, the centre of Jambudvipa, in a very high position, its water was very pure and clear, it was of unmeasured depth, and was of a bluish black colour with a very pleasant taste. In the depths of the lake dwelt all kinds of aquatic monsters, and water-birds of various

[1] Shih-li-ching and J. A. Vol. VI, p. 346.

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species haunted its surface, the shells of their great eggs being left in the wilds among the marshes, or on the sandy islets. This lake sent forth on the west a large stream which joined the Oxus to the east of Dhammasthiti, and flowed west; and so all streams on the right (west) side flow west. On the east the lake sent out a large stream which went north-east to the confines of Kashgar, where it joined the Sitā and flowed east; and so all streams on this side of the lake flow eastward.

The *Shang-mi* (商 彌) of the text of this passage has been restored by Julien as Śāmbhi, but the restoration does not seem to be admissible. It was apparently from our pilgrim's narrative that this name Shang-mi became known to the Chinese as denoting this country. In the Wei-Shu and other books we find mention of a district called *She-mi* (賒 彌) which was at a mountain south of a country called *P'o-chih* (波 知), perhaps Balti, between *Po-ho* (Wakhan?) and Udyāna.[1] This *She-mi*, which was visited by Sung-yun, may have been our pilgrim's Shang-mi. Then we learn that in the T'ien-pao period of the T'ang dynasty, that is between A. D. 742 and 755, eight States of these remote regions sent embassies to the Chinese emperor. One of these states was *Ku-wei* (俱 位), and this is described as the country also called Shang-mi; and the capital at that time is given as *A-shih-yuh-shih-to*, represented as being in the Great Snow Mountain north of the river *Po-lü*.[2] Wu-k'ung also traversed a country called *Kou-wei* (拘 緯) on his journey from *Hu-mi* (Wakhan) on towards Kashmir, and this is evidently the *Ku-wei* and *Shang-mi* of other travellers and writers.[3]

As we have seen the text places the Pamir Valley 700 *li* to the north-east of *Shang-mi*, but the Life gives the direction as east, the distance being the same. Neither in it, nor in the Records, is there any information as to the bearing or distance of Shang-mi from Dhammasthiti, but the latter was evidently, as in the T'ang-Shu, between

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[1] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102.

[2] T'ang Shu, *ch.* 221; Ma T. l., *ch.* 339.

[3] Shih-li-ching and J. A. op. c. p. 348.

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Shighni on the north, and *Shang-mi* on the south. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the modern representative of *Shang-mi* is the Chitral District, and the identification must be accepted, although it does not seem to meet all the requirements of the texts. This district is also known as Kāskār, and Elphinstone relates that the inhabitants, who live chiefly in tents, "belong to a nation called Cobi". This name, as Yule suggests, may be the *Ku-wei* of the Chinese historian although Elphinstone seems to have regarded it as connected with Gobi.[1]

The *P'o-mi-lo* of our pilgrim is evidently the *Po-mi* (播蜜) of Wu-k'ung and the T'ang-Shu, and the Pamir of western travellers. There are eight Pamirs in the district which bears this general designation, and geographers are not agreed as to which of these is the "Pamir Valley" of our text. Mr. (now Lord) Curzon from study and personal observation concludes that this is the Great Pamir and that the Dragon Lake is the Victoria Lake or Sar-i-kul.[2] This identification, however, does not seem to suit the requirements of the narrative and description in the Life and Records. These do not require us to believe that the pilgrim visited either Shighnan or Shang-mi, and it seems probable that he went on from Wakhan into the Pamirs. His account of the "Valley" with its Dragon Lake does not agree with all the particulars in the descriptions of any one of the Pamirs given by western explorers, but it is in substantial agreement with Mr. Curzon's summary of the general features of a Pamir. Much of the pilgrim's information was apparently obtained from books or guides. Thus it was evidently from others that he learned of the hornless dragons, tortoises, and other aquatic monsters which lived in the dark depths of the Lake. He may have seen the wild fowl, the ducks, geese, swans, and great king-fishers (?) and heard the clanging clamour of their cries. The shells of the great eggs left

[1] "Account of Caubul" p. 442 (2d ed.): Yule, op. c., p. 114.

[2] "The Pamir and the Sources of the Oxus" p. 17, 67 ff.

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on the marshes or sandy islets are conjectured by the author of the Life to be identical with the "large egg-shells of T'iao-Chih" that is, ostrich egg-shells.[1] The eggs were as large as water-jars and the parent bird with due regard to proportion was ten feet high.

The identification of the Dragon Lake of the Pamirs, that is, the Sar-i-kul, with the Anavatapta Lake is not made by our pilgrim, as some have asserted. He does not apply the name Anavatapta to the Pamir Lake, and he assigns the two lakes to localities far apart.

KIE-P'AN-T'Ê.

The Records proceed to relate that "to the south of the Pamir Valley across a hill is the *Po-lu-lo* country", which yielded much gold and silver, the former being of a fiery hue. It adds that from the centre of the Pamir Valley going south-east the road has no inhabited villages, over hills by risky paths where frozen snow prevailed, a journey of over 500 *li* brought the pilgrim to *Kie-(ka)-p'an-t'o*. This country was above 2000 *li* in circuit; its capital, founded on a rocky ridge and having the river Sitā at its back, was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country was a system of mountains with narrow river-courses and downs; there was little of other crops but much of pulse and wheat, and there were few fruit and other trees; its downs and swamps were wastes and its cities and towns uninhabited. The people had no social etiquette or common feeling of right; they had little education and were fierce, daring, and ugly; their clothes were of coarse woollen material (lit. felt and serge); their written and spoken languages were like those of Kashgar; and they were sincere Buddhists. There were more than ten monasteries with above 500 Brethren, all Hīnayānists of the Sarvāstivādin School. The reigning king was a patron of Buddhism, and a scholar of culture. Many years had elapsed since his dynasty was established; before that event the country was a wild valley of the Ts'ungling. A king of *P'o-li-ssŭ*, the pilgrim continues, had married a lady in China, and the bride-elect had reached this place on her way to her husband's home. At the time of her arrival armed rebellion had broken out in the country, and the roads were impassable. So the king's bride was taken to the top of a high steep rocky hill, and kept there for safety. When

[1] See Dr. Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient" p. 152.

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tranquillity was restored, and the journey was to be continued, the king's envoy in charge of the bride discovered that she was *enceinte*. On making enquiry he found that the sun-deva had visited the lady every day at noon, and that it was by him she was with child. So it was decided that the party should remain at the place; a palace was built on the hill, and the whole company settled there, and made the Chinese lady their queen. In due time she gave birth to a son who grew up very handsome and accomplished, famed for his power over the elements and his good government, and neighbouring States became his vassals.

The pilgrim next tells of the petrified body of this sovereign preserved in a cave in the steep side of a mountain above 100 *li* to the south-east of the capital. His lineal descendants had reigned ever since, and because their first ancestress was a Chinese lady and their first ancestor a sun-deva, they styled themselves "China-[sun]-deva stock". But the successors of the first king came to lose their prestige and be kept down by powerful Countries, and when Asoka came to rule he built a tope in the palace. Hereupon the king then reigning removed to the north-east of the palace, and made a splendid monastery of the old palace for the śāstra-master *T'ung-shou* (Kumāralabdha). This man, we are told by the pilgrim, was a native of Takshaśilā who in early youth embraced the religious life, and became an enthusiastic student of sacred literature. He composed some tens of treatises which were widely known and read; and he was the founder of the Sautrāntika School. He was brought by force from his native land to this country. In his time Aśvaghosha in the east, Deva in the south, Nāgārjuna in the west, and Kumāralabdha in the north were called the Four Shining Suns.

Above 300 *li* to the south-east of the capital was a cliff in which were two caves, each containing an arhat in a trance which had been prolonged for more than 700 years: the bodies were like skeletons, and the only sign of life was that the hair kept growing, and had to be cut periodically. Going to the north-east of this cliff over a mountain for 200 *li* the pilgrim came to a Puṇyaśāla. This had been built and endowed, according to tradition, by an arhat in pity for distressed caravans crossing the wild bleak region.

Foreign commentators on the contents of this passage are not agreed as to the modern representative of the *P'o-lu-lo* country which the pilgrim places on the other side of a mountain to the south of his "Pamir Valley".

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It is apparently the "*Pu-lu-chou* (布路州) country" of the Sung pilgrim, who places it beyond a snowy range before the "Ts'ung-ling snow mountains" on the way down to Kashmir.[1] It is also the *Po-lu-lo* (鉢盧勒) of the Wei-Shu, which was to the east of the *Shê-mi* country over mountains with precipitous sides up which travellers climbed by means of chains.[2] Yule follows Cunningham in identifying the district with the modern Balti adding that "doubtless the territory included Gilghit and Kanjut the latter famed for its gold produce";[3] but objections have been made to this identification.

From the "Pamir Valley" the pilgrim's journey lay *south-east* according to the Records, but *east* according to the Life. After travelling above 500 *li* (perhaps about 60 miles) he came to the country which he calls *Ka-p'an-t'o*. This is apparently the *K'ê-p'an-t'o* (渴槃陀) of earlier writers, called also *K'ê-lo* and *Han-t'o* (漢陀). The capital of this country was in the Ts'ung-ling. Beyond the country on the south and south-west was the Hindu-Kūsh, to its north was Kashgar, and to its west was *Hu-mi* (Wakkhan).[4] Sung-yun mentions a country *Han-p'an-t'o* which he locates on the Ts'ung-ling, the last before *Po-ho* (Wakhan?) on his itinerary.[5] Julien suggests *Khavandha* as the possible restoration of the pilgrim's transcription, and the name was probably something like Kabhanda or Kavanda. The country has been identified by modern Chinese writers with Sol-gol or Sariq-gol, the chief city of which is Tash-kurghan,[6] and this is the identification made by Cunning-ham and his successors. It is admitted, however, that Tashkurghan cannot represent the capital of Kabhanda,

[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 338.

[2] Wei Shu, *ch.* 102.

[3] op. c. p. 117.

[4] Ma T. l., *ch.* 339. The situation here assigned to the country does not agree with that in the Wei Shu which tallies with the Life's account of our pilgrim's journey.

[5] Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.

[6] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 1.

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the former being situated in a plain. St. Martin regards Karchu as occupying the site of Yuan-chuang's capital, and adds that the river which passes Karchu is one of the principal upper branches of the Yarkand river, that is, the Sītā of our pilgrim.[1] But the situation of Karchu (or Karachu) seems to make the identification inadmissible.

In the legend here related by the pilgrim about the origin of the dynasty reigning in Kabhanda at the time of his visit, we find the king of a country called *P'o-li-ssŭ* contracting a marriage with a Chinese lady. In the C text the reading is *P'o-la-ssŭ* which is Yuan-chuang's transcription for Persia. The D text has "P'o-li-la-ssŭ" which is evidently a mistake. The correct reading as we can learn from the D editor's note is evidently *P'o-li-ssŭ*. This was not Persia, but a country not far from the region of the Pamirs, it is also called P'o-ssŭ, and it is probably sometimes confounded with Persia. Julien transcribes correctly *P'o-li-ssŭ*, but Yule turns this into Persia, and adds that "in Persian legendary history we find king Jameshid marrying a daughter of Máháng, king of China". The king of P'o-li-ssŭ, however, never actually became the husband of the Chinese lady who had only a temporary husband in the sun-god. By him she became the mother of the king who founded the reigning dynasty of Kabhanda, and made the country prosperous and powerful. The kings of this dynasty styled themselves "China-deva-gotra" translated by "China and sun-god stock". But this interpretation seems to be absurd, and Chinadeva may be a proper name.

The T'ung-shou or Kumāralabdha of this passage is the Śāstra-master with whom we have met already in the account of Takshaśilā. Here as before the Life has the faulty reading "Youth-long-life" or Kumārajīva. The transcription shews that Kumāralabdha is the name, and this agrees with Tāranātha.[2] He mentions a Sautrāntika

[1] Julien, III, p. 426.
[2] Tār. S. 78.

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āchārya of the west whose name was *Gzom-nu-lena*, that is Youth-received, or Kumāralabdha. None of the treatises written by this great Buddhist have come down to us in the Chinese collections, but his name is occasionally mentioned in the Śāstras.

The pilgrim, it will be noticed, describes the people of Kabhanda as having a writing and a language like those of Kashgar; but in his description of the latter country he represents its writing as taken from that of India, and the spoken dialect as being peculiar to the people.

WU-SA (OR WU-SHA).

The pilgrim's narrative proceeds to relate that "from this", that is perhaps the Puṇyaśāla, going eastward he descended the eastern ridge of the Ts'ung-Ling, over passes and through defiles by risky paths in a constant succession of wind and snow, for above 800 *li*, to the *Wu-sa* country outside of the Ts'ung-Ling. This country he describes as being 1000 *li* in circuit, with its capital above ten *li* in circuit bounded on the south by the Sītā river. The district had a rich soil yielding good crops with plenty of fruit and other trees; it produced various kinds of jade, white, black, and dark-blue; the climate was mild and regular; the people were rude, harsh, and deceitful; their written and spoken language had a little resemblance to those of *Kie-sha* (Kashgar); they were ugly, wore skins and serge, and they were devout Buddhists. There were more than ten monasteries with nearly 1000 Brethren of the Sarvāstivādin School of the Hīnayānists. For some centuries there had been no native dynasty, and the country was subject to Kabhanda. Above 200 *li* to the west of the capital was a mountain the vapours of which soaring up, and coming in contact with the rocks, raised clouds; its sheer cliffs of imposing height seemed on the verge of crashing down. On the summit of this mountain was a magnificent tope of marvellous workmanship, and the pilgrim narrates the legend connected with its erection.

In the corresponding passage in the Life the pilgrim is represented as staying in Kabhanda for above twenty days; he then continues his journey in the company of some traders going north-east. When the party was five days on the way it encountered robbers, and its members were dispersed; coming together again they continued their

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journey, and when they had gone 800 *li* they emerged from the Ts'ung-Ling and arrived at *Wu-sa* (烏鎩 or 鎩). The second character of this name we are told to pronounce as *sha*, or *sa*, or *sai*, and also as *cha*, and the two characters probably represent a word like Usa or Osh. We may adopt the latter as a provisional restoration. Cunningham identified the country with the modern Yangihissar, and this is apparently the identification made by recent Chinese writers. Yule, who takes the Si-to river of our text to be the Sirikol, makes the capital of Osh to have been at "Chihil Gumbaz" ("The Forty Domes"), which is to the south of Yangihissar. Dr. Sven Hedin describes Chihil Gumbez as "a collection of stone and clay houses, stables, and yurts, besides a cemetery with a small chapel crowned with a cupola".[1] The district in Chinese Turkestan now called *Wu-shih* (烏什) does not correspond in situation to the *Wu-sha* of our pilgrim's travels.

KA-SHA (KASHGAR).

The narrative next tells us that from this (that is perhaps, the capital of Osh) the pilgrim went north across hilly sand-heaps and waste plains for above 500 *li* and came to *Kie(Ka)-sha*. This country he describes as being above 5000 *li* in circuit with many sand-heaps and little fertile soil; it yielded good crops and had a luxuriance of fruits and flowers. It produced fine woollen stuffs and fine woven woollen rugs; the people had the custom of flattening their babies' heads by compression; they were ill-favoured, tattooed their bodies and they had green eyes; their writing had been copied from that of India, and although changes had been made the substance was still preserved; their spoken language was different from the languages of other countries. The inhabitants were sincere believers in Buddhism; there were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren all adherents of the Sarvāstivādin School; these men read their scriptures much, without penetrating the meaning, and so there were many who had in this way read through all the canon and the vibhāshās (or Commentaries).

[1] op. c. p. 119. "Through Asia," Vol. I, p. 261. See Hsin-chiang Int[n].

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A Chinese note inserted in the text of this passage tells us that *Ka* (or *K'a*)-*sha* is the old *Su* (or *Shu*)-*leh*, that this latter was the name of the capital of the country, and that it was incorrect for *Shih-li-ki-li-to-ti* which was the correct name. The last is restored by Julien as "Śrīkrītati", a word which does not seem to be known to the dictionaries. It is possibly a mistaken identification by the Chinese annotator. But the *Ka-sha* of our text is apparently the *Su-leh* of Chinese writers from the time of the Han dynasty down to that of the Mongols (Yuan). In the latter period the foreign name Kāshghar or Kashgar came to be used, but some Chinese writers still occasionally employ the old name. The country called Su-leh was evidently in former times of much greater extent than the modern district of Kashgar. Our pilgrim's Ka-sha is apparently the *Ka-shih* (迦師) which was the capital of Su-leh in the time of the After-Wei and T'ang dynasties.[1] It may be also the Ka-sha mentioned in a Mahāyāna treatise as the name of a foreign land the people of which had "fine", that is shrill voices,[2] and it may be the Khasha which was in the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā's north-east division.[3] In the Chinese translations of the Divyāvadāna one text gives *Ka-shih*, and the other *Ka-sha*, as the name of the country to which Prince Asoka went from Takshaśilā. This seems to favour Burnouf's suggested correction of Khaśa for the "Śvaśa" of the original text.[4] Ka-sha (or Ka-shih) that is perhaps Kāsh, was the name of the capital and of the country. The city, we are told, was in the water, and hence perhaps the name Su-leh, that is Su-lik or Su-laq, from *su*, "water". Its modern designation

[1] T'ang Shu, *ch.* 221 (2d part). In A.D. 435 Su-leh and eight other states of the "West Countries" gave in their allegiance to the Wei dynasty (T'ung-chien Kang-mu, Sung Wên Huang Ti, yuan-chia 12th year).

[2] P'u-sa-shan-chie-ching, *ch.* 2 (No. 185); Abhi-ta-vib., *ch.* 79.

[3] Alberuni Vol. I, p. 303.

[4] Divyāv. p. 372; Bur. Int. p. 362 note; A-yü-wang-ching, *ch.* 1; A-yü-wang-chuan, *ch.* 1.

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is translated by the Chinese "Motley (kash) houses (gar),[1] but this seems to be an improbable rendering. There is a Turki word *Kasha* (or Kashka) which means "variously coloured", but *gar*, in Mongolian *ger*, is perhaps for the Chinese interpretation of a corruption of the Hindu word *ghar* which means "a house".

The term rendered in the above passage by "hilly sand-heaps" is *shan-chi* (山 磧) literally, "hill stone-heaps", but *chi* is here, as in many other passages, to be taken in the sense of "sand-accumulation". According to our pilgrim hills covered with sand and waste plains were the features of the country between Osh and Kashgar, and Mr. Sven Hedin describes the country on the east side of Yangihissar as "ranges of low hills of sand, clay, and conglomerate".[2]

In the expressions "fine woollen stuffs" and "woollen rugs" in the above passage the word for "woollen" is *tieh* (氈). This is the reading of the A and C texts, but instead of *tie* the B and D texts have *chan* (氈), which means "felt". The term *pai-tie*, as we have seen, is used as a name for "cotton cloth", but *tieh* is also used in the sense of *wool*. This is, apparently, the meaning of the word here, but we should perhaps regard *chan* as the correct reading.

The custom of flattening babies' heads, common to this country with Kuchih, is mentioned by other writers; so also are the tattooing, and the peculiar eyes. But instead of the "green eyes" which the pilgrim ascribes to the people other authorities represent them as having "turquoise pupils (碧 瞳)". We are told also that all the inhabitants of this country were born with six fingers on each hand, and six toes on each foot.[3]

The pilgrim, it will be observed, describes the writing of Kashgar as, like that of Kuchih, borrowed from India; although certain letters had been left out, and other changes

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[1] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 3.

[2] "Through Asia," Vol. I, p. 256.

[3] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102.

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made, the essentials of the Indian script had been preserved. As to the Brethren, and their use of the Buddhist scriptures, Julien's rendering seems to make the author contradict himself. What the pilgrim tells us is that the monks spent much of their time humming the books, without studying the meaning, and because they read in this hurried way many of them had succeeded in going through all the Tripiṭaka and the Vibhāshas or Commentaries. He does not say that "il y a un grand nombre de personnes qui lisent et comprennent les trois Recueils et le Vibhāchā".

The reader of the passage now under notice will observe that the pilgrim does not tell us anything of the form of government in Kashgar. We know, however, that in the T'ang period the country was under Chinese administration, with the designation Su-le-ch'ên or Su-leh Military station, the military governor being a Chinese official.

CHE-KU-KA.

The narrative in the Records proceeding relates that from Kashgar the pilgrim travelled south-east above 500 *li* crossing the Sitā river and going over a large sandy mountain-range to the *Che-ku-ka* country. The pilgrim describes this country as being above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital as above ten *li* in circuit; it was naturally very strong and it had a flourishing settled population. There was a succession of hills and rising grounds all covered with stones and gravel; where the country lay along the two rivers there was some cultivation; fruits such as grapes, pears, and plums were abundant; the winds were cold; the inhabitants were rude and deceitful, and robbery was openly practised. The writing was like that of Khoten, but the spoken language was different, and the people had little culture or education; they were sincere Buddhists, and they enjoyed good works. There were some tens of Buddhist monasteries many of which were in ruins; the Brethren, of whom there were above 100, were Mahāyānists. The pilgrim then gives an account of a great mountain in the south of the country with numerous topes in memory of the Indian arhats who had passed away on the mountain, and tells us of the three arhats in prolonged samādhi in its caves. The pilgrim adds that in this country the treatises (*pu* 部) of Mahāyāna canonical texts were very numerous, more than in any other country to which Buddhism had reached.

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Of treatises of 100000 stanzas each there were more than ten, and shorter treatises had a very wide-spread circulation.

A note to the text by the native editor tells us that the *Che-ku-ka* of the passage is the old *Tsü* (or *Tsie*)-kü (沮渠). This latter word is found given as an official title among the Hiungnu, and we are told that it became a proper name.[1] Our pilgrim's Che-ku-ka is apparently the *So-kü* (莎車) of the Han period, and the *Chu-kü-p'o* (朱俱波) of later times.[2] *So-kü* is placed 1000 *li* west of Khoten and 900 *li* south of *Su-leh* (Kashgar), and Sung-yun makes *Chu-kü-p'o* to be five days' journey from Khoten.[3] Modern Chinese authorities identify the old So-kü with the modern Yerkiang or Yarkand, and to some extent Che-ku-ka answers this identification.[4] Yule, however, thinks that the particulars of our pilgrim's description "would seem to point to a site among the hills south of Yarkand", while the distances given from Kashgar and Khoten to Che-ku-ka agree with modern itineraries from the same places to Yarkand.[5] The name used by our pilgrim was perhaps, as in the T'ang-Shu, that of the tribe or people by which the district was occupied.[6] A Tibetan writer tells us that "the Sanskrit name for Yarkhan (or Yarkand) is Arghan", and that our pilgrim calls it "Su-kakai".[7]

For the last clause of the passage here translated with omissions the Chinese is 自茲已降其流寔廣. This is in Julien's rendering.—"Depuis qu'elle (that is, "la doctrine du Mahāyāna") a été introduite dans ce pays jusqu'à nos

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[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 341.

[2] The character 車 is commonly read *chê*, but in this combination as in many other cases it is to be red *ku* or *kü*. The *Che-ku-ka* of this passage is apparently the 遮居迦 of *ch.* 55 of the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching.

[3] Ka-lan-chi, *ch.* 5.

[4] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 3; Li-tai-yen-ko-piao, *ch.* 3.

[5] op. c. p. 120.

[6] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 221 (2d part).

[7] "Buddhist and other legends about Khoten" by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás C. I. E. in J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LIV, p. 193.

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jours, elle s'est étendue d'une manière remarquable.". It will be seen that there is nothing in the text corresponding to "elle a été introduite dans ce pays", and the translator seems to have quite missed the author's meaning. The pilgrim tells us that no other Buddhist country had so many Mahāyāna texts as Che-ku-ka had, that of those treatises having 100 000 slokas there were about ten in the country, and that "decreasing from this their circulation was wide", that is the treatises which had a diminished number of slokas had an increased circulation.

KU-SA-TAN-NA (KHOTEN).

From Che-ku-ka, the narrative proceeds to relate, the pilgrim went east over mountain ranges and their valleys above 800 *li* and came to *Ku*-(or *Kü*)-*sa-tan-na*. This country he describes as being above 4000 *li* in circuit, more than half of it being sand-dunes; the cultivated land, which was very limited, yielded cereals and fruits of various kinds; the country produced rugs, fine felt, and silk of artistic texture, it also yielded white and black jade. The climate was genial, but there were whirlwinds and flying dust. The people were of gentle disposition, fond of the practical arts; they were in easy circumstances, and had settled occupations. The nation esteemed music and the people were fond of dance and song; a few clothed themselves in woollens and furs, the majority wearing silk and calico (or "white felt", according to some texts). The system of writing had been taken from that of India, but the structure had been slightly altered by a sort of successive changes; the spoken language differed from that of other countries. The people were Buddhists, and there were above 100 Monasteries, with more than 5000 Brethren chiefly Mahāyānists. The reigning sovereign was warlike and a Buddhist, and he claimed Vaiśravaṇa-deva as his progenitor. This is justified by the legend which follows, which also accounts for the Sanskrit name of the country. When Asoka banished the officials who had blinded Kunāla in Takshaśilā these men with their families were settled in the wild land to the west of the Kustana district. About the time this occurred, an imperial prince of China, being sent into exile, settled in the country to the east of Kustana. The Takshaśilā exiles had raised one of their number to the position of king, and the Chinese prince also called himself king, and sought to gain preeminence over the Takshaśilā chief, but could not succeed. These two princes

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with their retinues met on hunting expeditions, and on one occasion they disputed about their hereditary precedence and very nearly came to battle. They were kept from a pitched battle by the advice that their military prowess could not be displayed on a hunting expedition, and that they should go back to their respective districts, and after due training meet to decide their claims by battle. This was agreed to, and in due course the chiefs with their armies met and fought; the Takshaśilā chief being defeated fled, but was captured and beheaded. Then the Chinese prince decided to settle in the district between the territory which he occupied and that in which the Takshaśila people had settled. Wishing to select a site for his capital he called for one expert in Land-science whereupon a Pāśupata Tīrthika appeared bearing a calabash full of water. This person described a circle on the ground with the water, and then suddenly disappeared. Here was built the capital, and although not strong the city had continued impregnable from that time down. When this king found himself an octogenarian, and still heirless, he prayed to Vaiśravaṇa for a son and heir, and the boon was granted in a miraculous manner, a child being produced from the god's forehead. Then to provide milk for the boy the god caused a teat to rise up on the face of the ground, and from it milk issued; hence came the name of the country, Ku-stana (Earth-teat).

Above ten *li* to the south of the capital was a large monastery, built by a former king of the country for the arhat Vairochana. Before Buddhism reached this land the arhat had come to it from Kashmir, and lodging in a wood had gone into samādhi. On hearing of the peculiar stranger the king went to see him, and asked him "who he was to live alone in a dark wood". The arhat replied that he was a disciple of Ju-lai, and the king farther enquired as to the virtue and divinity of Ju-lai. To this the arhat replied—"Ju-lai has tender pity for the four classes of living creatures, and shews the right way to the three Worlds; he may appear visibly or be hidden from view; he exhibits birth and extinction; those who follow his system become exempt from life and death, while those who err from his religion are caught in the net of carnal attachment". The king became converted to Buddhism, built the monastery, and held a religious assembly; Afterwards in accordance with the arhat's prediction an image of Buddha descended from upper space, bringing a gong for the use of the monastery.

Above twenty *li* to the south-west of the capital was the Gośringa mountain double-peaked with cliffs sheer on all sides. Between the steep mountain-side and the ravine was a monastery containing an image of Buddha which emitted a bright light.

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The Buddha had visited this place, preached here, and prophesied that a country would arise here which should reverence his religion and follow the Mahāyāna.

In the steep side of the Gośringa mountain was a large cave in which was an arhat who had gone into the "mind-extinguishing samādhi", awaiting the coming of Maitreya, and had been respectfully served without cessation for several centuries. Within recent times a landslip had closed the entrance to the cave and the king had sent his soldiers to remove the blocking rocks. But a swarm of black wasps inflicting poisonous stings on the soldiers caused them to desist, and so the entrance to the cave remained closed.

Above ten *li* to the south-west of the capital was the *Ti-ka-p'o-fo-na* monastery in which was a standing cemented(?) image of the Buddha which had come from Kuchih. An ambassador from Khoten had been sent to Kuchih, and while there he was a constant worshipper of the image. On his return to his native place he continued to reverence the absent image, and one night the image came over to the official, who thereupon gave up his residence, and built this monastery.

A journey of more than 300 *li* to the west of the capital brought one to the *Po-ka-i* city in which was a sitting image of the Buddha, above seven feet high, crowned with a tiara. This image had formerly been in Kashmir, and the pilgrim relates the local account of its transfer to this place.

Also to the west of the capital, and at a distance from it of about 150 *li* on the highway through the desert, were mounds which were inhabited by certain rodents, and the pilgrim gives the legend which related the origin of the worship paid to these animals.

Five or six *li* from the capital, still on the west side, was the *Sha-mo-no* (Samajñā) monastery with a tope, and the pilgrim tells the legend connected with the foundation of the monastery, and the erection of the tope.

To the south-east of the capital was a monastery which is called the *Mo-she* or *Lu-she* sanghārama. This had been built by a queen of a former king of the country, a princess of China, in commemoration of her successful introduction of silk-culture from China. The pilgrim relates the story of the princess smuggling the seeds of the mulberry and the eggs of the silk-worm out of her native land, and bringing them to this place.

Above 100 *li* south-east from the capital was a large river flowing north-west which was used by the inhabitants for irrigating their lands. Then the legend is told about the patriotic official who, when the flow of water was cut off by the dragon

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of the river, appeased the dragon by giving himself up to marry his daughter.

To the east of the capital, above 300 *li*, was a great marshy waste in which was a bare dark-red patch of some tens of *ch'ing* (a *ch'ing* being 15.13 square acres). This, according to local tradition, was the field of a great battle between armies of the "East Country" (China) and Kustana. In this battle the Chinese were completely victorious, took the king prisoner, and slaughtered all the army of Kustana; the blood which flowed dyed the ground the colour which it still presents.

Going east from the Battle-field above 30 *li* you come to *P'i-mo* city which had a sandal-wood image of the Buddha more than twenty feet high. This image had supernatural powers, emitting light and effecting cures. Local tradition reported that it was made in the Buddha's life-time by Udayana, king of Kosambi, and that after Buddha's decease it went through the air to *O-lao-lo-ka* (Rallaka?) in the north of the Kustana country. The people of that city were not Buddhists, and did not reverence the image. An arhat worshipped the image, and the king subjected the saint to the ignominy of being covered with sand and mud. A few days afterwards, as the arhat predicted, the city was overwhelmed by a great shower of sand and mud, which buried it completely. The image escaped to P'i-mo, and Rallaka had remained a waste. Two days after the arhat had gone away there fell a shower of precious substances in the streets of the city; these were buried by the subsequent sand and mud; in after times, when various rulers tried to excavate for the precious substances, violent storms arose, and dense mists made it impossible to keep the path.

From the P'i-mo valley going east into the desert you travel for above 200 *li* and reach the *Ni-jang* city. This was three or four *li* in circuit and was situated in a great marsh. The hot watery nature of this district, and its wastes of reeds, made it impassable except by the road through the city. This was regarded as the eastern frontier barrier of Kustana.

The *Kü* (or *Ku*)*-sa-tan-na* of this passage is translated into Chinese by *Ti-ju* (地乳) or "Earth-teat", and it is supposed to be the transcription of a Sanskrit word Kustana composed of ku, *earth* and stana, a *woman's breast, an udder*. By this name the pilgrim designates a region, with its capital, which corresponds in some measure to the modern Khoten, and the latter may be substituted for his *Ku-sa-tan-na*. In the Chinese note to the text we

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are also told that other names for the district were *Huan-na* the native designation, their *elegant* (or according to to one text, *incorrect*) name; *Yü* (in some texts *Ch'ien)-tun* used by the Hiung-nu, *K'i* (or *Huoh)-tan* by the Tartars, *K'ü-tan* by the Hindus, and *Yü-t'ien* the old incorrect Chinese name.[1] We are told in a glossary on this *chuan* that all these terms denoted different places in the Khoten region, but this is evidently a mistake. The names *K'ü-tan* and *Yü-t'ien* seem to point to a word like Go-dan or Gothān. The former is found in Tūrki, and the latter in the Indian vernacular, and they represent the Sanskrit *Gosthāna*. These words denote a *place* or *station for cattle*. A mispronunciation of Gosthāna in the monasteries of the country may have led to the sound Kustana, and the silly legend invented to account for the name.[2] That the name which the pilgrim here transcribes was Gosthāna appears probable from the character which gives the first syllable, viz. *Kü* (瞿) which he uses to write *Go-* in Gośringa. The Hiung-nu name *Yü-tun* may have been the word which is now pronounced Atun by the Manchus, and denotes a *station* or *inclosure for cattle*. For the Chinese, however, *Yü-t'ien* has always been the recognized name for the country and its capital, and the Ho-t'ien or Khoten of the present dynasty has replaced it only in official or government writings. This Ho-tien is perhaps the Tartar *Huoh-tan* and means simply *the city*.[3] The capital is now

[1] These names are—*Huan-na* (渙 那), *Yü-tun* (于 遁) or *Ch'ien* (于)*-tun*, *Huoh* or *K'i-tan* (豁 or 谿 旦), Ku-tan (屈 丹), *Yü-tien* (于 闐). This last is the term used in the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching, *ch.* 55. The other forms of the name or names are seldom met with in any variety of Chinese literature.

[2] In the "Dsam-ling-Gyeshe" as translated by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás C. I. E. we find the following statement — "To the south of Yarkhan there is a desert which having crossed, we arrive at the country called Gosthan, or place of virtue now, vulgarly called Khothan (or Khoten), which contains the mountain of Langri (Goshirsha) mentioned in the religious work called Langri Lungtan". J. A. S. Ben. Vol. LV, l. c. The name Lang (or Glang)-ri means "Ox-mountain".

[3] But this explanation of the name is not accepted.

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called Ilchi or Ilichi or *Ngo-li-chi* (額里齊). As Mr. Rockhill has shewn, the Tibetan name for Khoten is Li-yul which is explained as meaning "Bell-metal (Li, the Sanskrit Riti) Country (Yul)".[1] But the first part of this name may be the Chinese word *Li* (犛) which denotes "the Yak". This animal, in Tūrki *Kotas*, is still found wild in the Khoten region. Then "U-then", the great city of Li-yul in the Tibetan scriptures, is evidently the Chinese *Yü-t'ien* and not, as Mr. Rockhill thinks "a modern corruption of Kusthana".

Our pilgrim's story of the first king of this country being one of the officials in Takshaśilā who took out the eyes of Kunāla does not agree with the Life. There it is Kunāla himself who is the founder of the colony. So also in the Tibetan work from which Mr. Rockhill gives extracts it is a son of Asoka named "Kusthana" who is the founder of Khoten.

The story here told about the arhat Vairochana for whom a monastery was built is very interesting. This arhat does not seem to be known to the Buddhist scriptures, but he is evidently the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī of the Tibetan books when he came as a man, with the name Vairochana, to teach the Tibetan vernacular to the peasants, and also to introduce Buddhism. The monastery built for him by the king is the Ts'arma Vihāra of the Tibetan text. In the passage now under consideration the arhat gives the king a description of the Julai or Tathāgatā which is Lokottaravādin or even Mahāyānist. According to these Schools the Julai does not really pass through the Jātakas of the books, and he is not actually born as a human being, and does not suffer death—"He is visible or invisible, he exhibits (示) birth and death". This description is at utter variance with the answer which the arhat gives the king in the Life. There the Julai is the Buddha of the scriptures, the prince who was son of

[1] Rockhill, 'Life,' *ch.* VIII. See also Mr. Sarat Chandra Dás in J. A. S. Ben. l. c.

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Suddhodana, and gave up his royal inheritance to save the world. This orthodox account of the Buddha was the natural one to give to an ignorant enquirer, and we should regard the words put into the mouth of the arhat in the Records as an interpolation by some sectarian editor. It will be seen that Yuan-chuang like Fa-hsien represents the Buddhists of this district as being for the most part Mahāyānists.[1] But there was at least one establishment of the Sarvāstivādins,[2] and there may have been some Brethren of other schools.

The Gośringa or Ox-horn hill, which was to the south-west of the capital, is apparently, as Mr. Rockhill suggests, the Gośīrsha of his Tibetan book. But we have no canonical record of the Buddha having visited this country and sojourned on this mountain.

To the south-west of the capital, according to our text, was a Buddhist monastery called *Ti-ka-p'o-fo-na*. This is doubtfully restored by Julien as Dīrghabhāvanā, but the characters *Ti-ka* (地 迦) seem to require rather Tikabhāvāna. This name gives a show of meaning as the image had *changed its abode* having flown from Kuchih to Khoten. Our pilgrim describes this image as a *Ka-chu* (夾紵) standing image of Buddha". Julien translates *Ka-chu* by "couverte d'un double tissu de soie", but this rendering violates the meaning and cannot be accepted. I have proposed "cemented" as the meaning, taking the author to indicate that the image was not carved from one piece of wood, but was made up of parts cemented together. This interpretation is apparently in accordance with a glossary which explains *Ka-chu* as "made with cemented edges". The word seems to be a foreign one, and it may be connected with the Tūrki word *gaj*, and the Hindu *gach*, which mean *cement* or *mortar*. It is applied to the plastering of wooden tiles to make the roof of a temple in China,[3]

[1] Fo-kuo-chi, *ch.* 3.

[2] It was in a monastery of Brethren belonging to this School that our pilgrim lodged while at Khoten.

[3] T'ang-Shu, *ch.* 13.

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but it is not of frequent occurrence. It was apparently a strange term to the editors of the Han-shan edition of these Records, for they state in a note that they had found *Kachu* to be what was called in their time *t'ê* (or *t'ok*)-*sha* (脫 沙).

In the passage under consideration the pilgrim's description places the city *Po-ka-i* (孛 伽 夷) 300 *li* to the west of the capital. In the Life this was the first city in Khoten which Yuan-chuang reached on his way through the country. Julien suggests "Pogaï" as the original form, but this may have been a word like Bhāgya.

The name of the monastery five or six *li* to the west of the capital which Yuan-chuang here gives as *Sha-mo-joh* (or *noh*) (娑 摩 若) is restored by Julien as "Samājñā", and he takes this to have been the name of the arhat on whose behalf the monastery was built. This may have been so, but the text does not give any indication as to the arhat's name. If we take it to have been Samajñā that word has the meaning of *fame* or *reputation*, and Yaśas, the name of the great arhat in Asoka's time, and of the minister of Asoka who led a colony to Khoten, also means *fame* or *reputation*.

Then we have the monastery five or six *li* to the south-east of the capital which in some texts is called Lu-she (or ye) (鹿 射). But instead of this the D text has *Mo* (摩) -*she*, and C has *Shu* (庶)-*she*. We find in other books a story about the introduction of the silk-worm into Khoten very similar to that given in this passage, but the Princess is only from a "neighbouring country" without any mention of China.[1] In Mr. Rockhill's Tibetan texts she is Pu-nye -shar a daughter of the ruler of China. The Ma-dza of these texts is evidently the Mo-she of the D edition of our Records, the place in Khoten where the Princess commenced the rearing of the silk-worm.

The *P'i-mo* (媲 摩) that is Bhīmā city, which the passage under consideration places above 330 *li* to the east of the

[1] Ma T. l., *ch.* 337.

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capital of this country, was visited by the pilgrim on his way from the capital towards China. He applies the name to the city, and to the valley or river-course in which it was situated. This Bhīmā is Durgā and she is the Śrī-Mahādevī mentioned in Tibetan books as worshipped in this country. In other works we read of a monastery called *Pi-mo* (比摩), which was 500 *li* to the west of Khoten city. It was here that Lao-tzŭ left earth for Heaven preparatory to his descent in India to become the Buddha.[1] It is strange to find Yuan-chuang here representing Udayana's sandal-wood image of the Buddha as having flown from Kosambi to Khoten. This is not in agreement with other accounts of the fortunes of that image, or his own statements in *Chuan* V. The Rallaka or Stag city in the north of Khoten, which was the first abode of the image in this country, became as we are told here, buried under sand and mud. Its fate in this respect is quoted in later works as an example of what has befallen cities and towns in the great desert region east of the Ts'ung-Ling.[2]

The *Ni-jang* (or *-yang*) city of our pilgrim, which was 200 *li* east from Bhīmā in the desert, has been identified with the present Niya. Mr. Sven Hedin writing about it with reference to Yuan-chuang's account tells us that "the Chinese traveller's description of Niya and its situation agrees in all particulars with the actual state of things, as I myself was able to verify".[3]

KHOTEN TO NA-FO-P'O.

The narrative in the Records continues—Going east from this (that is, Nijang) the pilgrim entered the „Great Flowing-Sand". As the sand is in constant motion it is collected and dispersed by the wind. As there are no tracks for travellers many go

[1] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102.

[2] e. g. in Shêng-wu-chi, *ch.* 4.

[3] Through Asia p. 783, and see Chs. LX and LXII for much about Khoten. Prejevalsky identifies *Pi-mo* with Marco Polo's Pein (or Peym) and *Ni-jang* with the modern Kiria. See his "From Kulja across the Tian-shan to Lob-nor" p. 156.

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astray; on every side is a great vast space with nothing to go by, so travellers pile up bones left behind to be marks; there is neither water nor vegetation and there is much hot wind; when the wind blows men and animals lose their senses and become unwell. One constantly hears singing and whistling, and sometimes wailing; while looking and listening one becomes stupified, and consequently there is frequent loss of life, and so these phenomena are caused by demons and sprites. A journey of more than 400 *li* brought the pilgrim to the old country of *Tu-huo-lo* (Tokhara). This country and its cities had long been unoccupied wastes. Going on east from this the pilgrim after a journey of above 600 *li* arrived at *Che-mo-t'o-na* old country, the *Nie-mo* land, with lofty city-walls but without an inhabitant. Then continuing his journey he went north-east for above 1000 *li* and reached the old country of *Na-fo-p'o*, the *Lou-lan* territory.

The description here given of the passage of the great desert east of Khoten agrees with the accounts by other old travellers such as Fa-hsien, P'ei-chü, and Marco Polo.

The name *Che-mo-t'o-na* given by our pilgrim to the country which lay to the east of the former Tokhara country is evidently a Sanskrit word, and it is possibly a rendering of a native term. The text tells us that the country was the *Nie-mo* (涅末) land. But the correct reading is *Chü*(沮 or 且)-*mo* which is given in the Life, the T'ang-Shu, and other old treatises. This is said to have been originally the name of the capital of the country.[1]

The *Na-fo-p'o* of this passage we are told in the text was the old *Lou-lan*. This country, once powerful and flourishing, lay about 1500 *li* to the east of Khoten.[2] In the year B. C. 77 its prince was treacherously murdered by the Chinese envoy, and on this occasion the new name *Shen-shan* was given to to the country. The common way of writing this is 鄯善 but the first syllable is also written 禪, and the name is pronounced *Ch'an* (or *Shan*)-*shan*. At one time the capital of the country was *Han-ni* (扞 泥),[3]

[1] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102 where the name is written 且末.
[2] Ma T. l., *ch.* 357.
[3] Wei-Shu, *ch.* 102; Yuan-chien-lei-han, *ch.* 236.

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and another important city in it was *I-sun* (伊循) at which there was a Chinese settlement.[1] Now *isun* is a Tartar word for *nine*, and *nava* is the Sanskrit word for *nine*, so our pilgrim's *Na-fo-p'o* may possibly be for a word like *Nava-bhāga*. But this Sanskrit name, probably used only in the Buddhist monasteries, was never employed by the ordinary Chinese who continued to call the country Shan-shan as long as it existed. Its modern representative is found by recent Chinese writers in Mahai-Gobi and Pijan.[2] In the Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-ching the name used is the old and common Chinese designation *Shan-shan*.[3]

CONCLUSION.

The narrative of the Records terminates with the arrival of the pilgrim in the country which had been *Na-fo-p'o*, but a few sentences are appended to form a graceful epilogue. Julien here had the faulty and imperfect B text, and his translation of the passage was made under a partial misapprehension of the meaning of the author. What the latter writes may be freely rendered as follows—

> I have set forth at length natural scenery and ascertained territorial divisions. I have explained the qualities of national customs and climatic characteristics. Moral conduct is not constant and tastes vary; where matters cannot be thoroughly verified one may not be dogmatic. Wherever I went I made notes, and in mentioning what I saw and heard I recorded the aspirations for [Chinese] civilisation. It is a fact that from here to where the sun sets all have experienced [His Majesty's] beneficence, and wherever his influence reaches all admire his perfect virtue. The whole world having been united under one sway I have not been a mere individual on a political mission travelling a myriad *li* along a post-road.

As this passage appears in all the texts it forms the close of the pilgrim's account, but it is perhaps better to regard it as an addition made by the courtly editor, per-

[1] Yuan-chien-lei-han l. c.

[2] Hsin-chiang, *ch.* 2; Shêng-wu-chi, *ch.* 4.

[3] *Ch.* 55.

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haps Pien-chi, at the time the Ms. was presented to the Emperor. It apparently puzzled subsequent editors and the texts present considerable varieties. Thus the words which Julien renders—"il n'est pas possible d'en parler exactement d'après ses souvenirs" are *Fei-k'o-yi-shuo* (非可臆說) This is the reading of the B text, but instead of the third character here A and C have yi (抑), and D has *yang* (仰). It is the A text which has been followed in the rendering "one may not be dogmatic". So also the words for—"It is a fact that from here to where the sun sets all have experienced his beneficence" are not in the B text, but are in all the other texts. Further the words for "The whole world having been united under one sway" are in A, C, and D, but not in B, and in D they are repeated. In the expression—"I have not been a mere individual" the original for individual is *tan-ch'ê* (單車) literally, "a single carriage". This term is applied to an official sent to a foreign state on government service without escort or retinue. Since all the world was united as one empire under Chinese sway, according to the audacious exaggeration of the writer, the pilgrim was not a mere solitary envoy obliged to keep to the post-road and the official resting-places. The benevolent rule and moral influence of his sovereign had produced effects to the furthest region of the pilgrim's travels, and gave him dignity and importance as a subject of the incomparable ruler.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The four texts of the Hsi-yü-chi mentioned in Ch. I are indicated by the letters A, B, C, D in the following order. The old Chinese edition is A, the Han-shan Ming edition is B, the old Japanese text is C, and the recent Japanese reprint is D.

Abhi-ta-vib.	for Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāshā-śāstra (Bunyiu, No. 1263).
Alberuni	for Alberuni's 'India', tr. by Sachau.
A. G. I.	for 'Ancient Geography of India' by General Cunningham.
As. Res.	for Asiatic Researches.
B.	for the Rev^{d} S. Beal.
Baber	for 'Memoirs of Baber' tr. by Laidley and Erskine.
Bigandet	for 'Legend of Gaudama the Buddha' by Bishop Bigandet.
B. T. S.	for Buddhist Text Society.
Bud. Lit. Nep.	for 'The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal' by Rājendralāla Mitra.
Bun.	for 'Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka' by Bunyiu Nanjio. In very many cases the "Bun." is omitted.
Bur. Int.	for 'Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien', par E. Burnouf.

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Chavannes	for 'Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang &c.', tr. by Ed. Chavannes.
Chung-hsü-ching	for Fo-shuo-chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching (Bun. No. 859).
Cor. Ins. Ind.	for Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Dh.	for Dhammapada, ed. Fausböll.
Digh. Nik.	for Dīgha Nikāya (P. T. S.).
Dīp.	for Dīpavamsa, ed. Oldenberg.
Divyāv.	for Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neill.
F.	for Fa-hsien.
Fang-chih	for Shih-ka-fang-chih (Bun. No. 1470).
Hsi-yü-ch'iu	for Ta-T'ang-hsi-yü-ch'iu-fa-kao-sêng-chuan (No. 1491).
Hsing-chi-ching	for Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching (No. 680).
Hsin-chiang	for Chin-ting-hsin-chiang-chih-liao (欽定新疆識略).
Ind. Ant.	for Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit.	for Weber's 'History of Indian Literature' (Trübner's Oriental Series).
J.	for St. Julien.
J. A.	for Journal Asiatique.
J. A. S. Ben.	for Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. P. T. S.	for Journal of the Pali Text Society.
J. R. A. S.	for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jāt.	for The Jātaka, ed. Fausböll.
Ka-lan-chi	for Lo-yang-Ka-lan-chi.
K'ai-yuan-lu	for K'ai-yuan-Shih-chiao-lu (No. 1485).
Lal.	for Lalitavistara.
Life, The	for Ta-tzŭ-ên-ssŭ-San-tsang-fa-shih-

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	chuan, and Julien's tr. 'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang.'
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE ITINERARY OF YUAN-CHWANG.

I. CHINA TO INDIA.
II. IN INDIA.
III. INDIA TO CHINA.

WITH TWO MAPS.

COMPILED BY

VINCENT A. SMITH, M. R. A. S.

Note. The pilgrim's routes from China to India and from India to China are plotted on an extract from Mr. Stanford's map of Asia on the scale of 110 miles to the inch.

In working out the details the following books treating of Central Asia have been used in addition to Mr. Watters' volumes and Beal's translations:—(1) Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux* (St. Pétersbourg, 1903). The map inserted has no scale marked, but the author informs me that it is drawn approximately to the scale of 1 in 250,000, or 39.4 English miles to the inch; (2) same author, *Voyage de Song-yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra* (École Fr. de l'extrême Or., Hanoi, 1902); (3) Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* (London, 1898, with maps of the Pāmīr and the Tarim basin); (4) Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903, with a map of portions of Chinese Turkestan); (5) Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches* (London, 1888, Trübner's *Or. Ser.*, with a map of the middle part of Asia); (6) India Office *map of India*, including the countries to the north-west, on the scale of 32 miles to the inch.

Mr. W. R. Carles, C. M. G. (Consular Service in China, Ret[d]) has kindly supplied me with references and given valuable help in other ways. (V. A. S.)

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I. CHINA TO INDIA.

From September, 629 A. D. to September, 630 A. D.

In the month of September 629 A. D.,[1] Yuan-chwang,[2] being then twenty-eight or twenty-nine years of age,[3] quitted Ch'ang-an,[4] at that time the seat of the imperial court, and started on his long pilgrimage.

From the capital he proceeded in a north-westerly direction through the provinces of Shen-si and Kan-suh, passing through the towns of Tsin-chau and Lan-chau, and so arriving at Liang-chau, the great mart and meeting-place for merchants and travellers from the west. The pilgrim was occupied for more than a month at Liang-chau, presumably in completing his equipment, and, when ready, advanced, through Kwa-chau, to the frontier. Crossing the Bulunghir (Hu-lu) river, and traversing the *Kwan*, or barrier, of Yu-mēn (Yuh-mên), he passed four out of five of a series of frontier watch-towers, separated one from the other by intervals of a hundred *li*, or about eighteen miles. In pursuance of friendly advice, he avoided the

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[1] "In the third year and the eighth month of the period Chêng Kwan" (Beal, *Life*, p. 11). Beal equates that year with 630 A. D., but Mr. Watters and M. Chavannes seem to be right in equating it with 629 A. D. September roughly corresponds with the eighth month as the Chinese year begins with "the nearest new moon to the month of February" (Du Halde, *Hist. of China*, Engl. transl., 3. ed., Vol. III, p. 97). A later passage in the *Life* (p. 209) asserts that the pilgrim started in the fourth month, but the date of the eighth month is confirmed by the 'address to the reader' (*postface*) of the *Si-yu-ki* (Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 193 note), and harmonizes with the details of the narrative of the travels better than the earlier date.

[2] The authorities differ widely concerning the proper way of writing the pilgrim's name. Mr. Watters' spelling is one way of representing the pronunciation current in Peking of the second element in the name, and of the syllables, forming the first portion, which have been substituted for the original *Hiuen*, because that word formed part of the name of the emperor K'ang-hi. The 'scientific spelling' is said to be *Hiuen Tsang* (Chavannes, *Religieux Éminents*, p. 2, note 4; addenda, p. 202).

[3] "Twenty-six years of age", according to Beal (*Life*, p. 11). But the pilgrim was born at some time in the year 600 A. D., according to Watters (p. 10), and so must have completed either twenty-eight or twenty-nine years before starting.

[4] "The capital Ch'ang-an, the modern Hsi-an" (Watters, p. 11); = Tch'ang-ngan (Chavannes); = Sian, Si-ngan-fu, Seganfoo, etc. of maps and books of reference; = Kenjanfu of Marco Polo. The city, which is still of importance, was the capital of the empire during the T'sin, Han, and T'ang dynasties. It is now the capital of the province of Shen-si, and includes a quarter known by the ancient name of Ch'ang-an: N. lat. 34° 17', E. long. 108° 58'.

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fifth tower, and plunged into the Mo-ho-yen desert,[1] where he barely escaped with his life, having lost his way and been without water for four nights and five days.

Beyond the desert, he reached I-gu, the capital of a principality subordinate to the kingdom of Kao-ch'ang, the exact position of which apparently has not been determined. Yuan-chwang, who had intended to travel by the northern route past Kagan-Stūpa, the modern Bishbalik or Pei-t'ing, near Gu-chen (Gutchen), to the north of Turfan, was compelled to change his plans in deference to peremptory orders of Kü-wēn-tai (Khio-wen-t'ai, or Kü-ka), the powerful Turkī king of Kao-ch'ang, who insisted on receiving a visit from the pilgrim. A journey of six days through the desert from I-gu brought Yuan-chwang to Pih-li (? = P'ih-chan or Pi-ch'ang between Hami and Turfan), a frontier town of the Kao-ch'ang State. From Pih-li he advanced to Kiao-ho, the Kao-ch'ang capital, now represented by Yar-khoto, a few miles (20 *li*) to the west of Turfan.[2]

Yuan-chwang was detained at Kiao-ho for a month or more, and was then sent on his way laden with valuable gifts. Passing through the towns of Wu-pwan and To-tsin, which do not seem to have been identified (Beal, *Life*, p. 34), he came to the kingdom of A-k'i-ni (O-ki-ni, Yen-k'i). The pilgrim does not state the name of the capital, but other Chinese authors give it as either Nan-ho-ch'êng or Yun-kü, the latter being perhaps only another form of Yen-k'i (Watters, p. 48). Its site is generally identified with Kara-shahr (Kharashahr), a town situated to the north of Lake Bagrash (Bostang, or Barashahr); but M. Chavannes holds that there is good authority for maintaining that the ancient town, which he calls Yuen-kiu-tch'eng, lay to the west of the lake.[3] Yuan-chwang stayed only a single night at the capital of A-k'i-ni, and next morning went forwards and crossed 'a great river', now known as the Khaidu (Kaidu, Khaidick, Haïdick, or Tan). After surmounting some hills, and traversing a level valley, he arrived in the kingdom of Ku-chih (Kūcha, Koutcha, K'iu-chi (Beal), Kocha, etc.).

At the capital of the same name he was detained for about sixty days waiting for the snow-covered passes of the Tian-shan (Thian-

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[1] The transcription *Mo-kia-yen* is erroneous (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 74, note 3).

[2] Kiao-ho is generally identified with Karakhojo (Huo-chow), lying about 27 miles (40 versts) to the east of Turfan. But strong reasons exist for believing that the position of the capital in the time of Yuan-chwang is marked by Yar-khoto (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occ.*, pp. 7, 8, 101, 305, note 2).

[3] Watters, p. 48; *Les Turcs Occ.*, p. 7. Karashahr is also spelt Karachar by French, or Harashar, by Russian writers. Sven Hedin visited the town, which is now 'the chief commercial emporium in that part of Chinese Turkestan' (*Through Asia*, Vol. II, p. 859).

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shan) mountains, which lay before him, to be open. Enormous masses of snow accumulate during the winter on the mountains to the south of Lake Issik-kül.[1]

From the city of Ku-chih, Yuan-chwang proceeded in a direction slightly south of west for a distance estimated as 600 *li*,[2] across a strip of desert, to the small kingdom of Poh-lu-ka (= Sanskrit *bālukā*, or 'sandy'; also called Kimē, Kimo, Kumē, or Kumo, with the same meaning in Turkī). The intermediate stages are not named by the pilgrim, but he must have passed the towns now called Sairam and Bai. The kingdom of Poh-lu-ka undoubtedly is represented by the modern district of Aksu, but the exact position of the capital is uncertain. The town was known by the name of Nan-ch'eng, or 'South City', and also bore the names of Po-hoan (Pu-han) and Wei-jong. Some Chinese writers identify it with Bai, but Mr. Watters prefers to locate it at a place called Khara-yurgun (Kharayurghun, Karayalghan), while M. Chavannes argues that it should be identified with Yaka-aryk to the north-east of Aksu town, which latter stands in N. lat. 41° 12′, E. long. 79° 30′.[3] Perhaps the problem is not capable of an exact solution.

Yuan-chwang probably proceeded as far south as Aksu, for it is recorded that when he quitted the kingdom of Poh-lu-ka, he travelled in a north-westerly direction to the foot of the great mountain range now known as the Ping-shan, or 'Ice-mountains' (old Chinese Ling-shan; Turkī Musur-dabghan, with the same meaning). The transit through the passes occupied seven days, and was so arduous that twelve or fourteen of the company perished, and the number of oxen and horses lost was still greater (Beal, *Life*, p. 41). There seems to be little doubt that the Pass by which Yuan-chwang travelled was the Bedal (Bédel), and not the Muzart.[4] After emerging from the mountains, he crossed the Ajak-tash or Chen-chu (Tchen-tchou) river, and in due course approached, and, perhaps, actually reached, the shores of Lake Issik-kül, which he designates simply as the 'Clear (*tsing*) Lake'. The Turkish tribes call it Issik-kül, or the 'Warm Sea', because it never freezes, and a Chinese name, Jo-hai, has the same meaning. This great sheet of water,

[1] Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, Vol. I, p. 86).

[2] *i. e.* twelve days march, if M. Foucher is right in holding that the expression 'about 50 *li*', as used by Yuan-chwang is ordinarily an approximate equivalent for a day's march, which was variable in length, but averaged about four French leagues, nearly ten English miles. Yuan-chwang liked short marches. (*Notes sur la Géographie du Gandhâra*, pp. 20, 27, n. 1). The distance given in the text seems to be excessive.

[3] Watters p. 65; *Chavannes, Turcs Occ.*, pp. 8, 120, and Index *s. v.* Po-hoan and Po-lou-kia.

[4] Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, p. 9, and Index, s. *v. Pa-ta-ling* and *Bédel.*

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about 112 miles long by 38 broad, is also known to the Mongols as the 'Ferruginous Lake' (Temurtu-nor); and is sometimes called the 'Salt Sea'.

Opinions differ concerning the question whether the pilgrim passed to the south of the lake, or followed the easier circuitous route through Karakol by the eastern and northern shores. The balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the former supposition, and the direct route is consequently shown on the map as that taken by Yuan-chwang.[1]

A north-westerly course from Lake Issik-kül brought the traveller to the place which he calls 'the city of the Su-she water', that is to say, the modern Tokmak on the Chu (Tchou) river, which the Chinese knew by the name of Su-she. This city was the residence of the powerful Khākān, or supreme chief, of the Western Turks, who hospitably received the pilgrim,[2] and appointed officers to conduct him as far as Kapiśa on the Indian frontier (Beal, *Life*, p. 44).

At a distance of some seventy or eighty miles (400 *li*) to the west of Tokmak, Yuan-chwang entered the pleasant district lying to the north of the Alexander Mountains, which was known by the name of the 'Thousand Springs' (Chinese *Ch'ien-chuan*, or *Ts'ien-tsüan;* Turkī *Bing-ghyul*, transliterated in Chinese as *Ping-yü*; Mongol *Ming bulak*). The modern town of Tardy seems to mark the position of this district.[3]

The next important halting-place was the town of Talossŭ, situated about seventeen miles (5 *farsang*) to the south of the modern Auliéata on the river Talas (Taras).[4]

The pilgrim's face was now turned in a south-westerly direction, so that he might traverse in succession the basins of the rivers Jaxartes (Syr Daryā), Zarafshān, and Oxus (Amū Daryā), on his way to India. The town designated as 'White Water City' (Pai-shui-ch'êng, Peh-shwui, *Beal*) cannot have been far from the modern Mankent, which lies about fifteen miles to the north-east of Chimkend. Passing through a town named Kung-yü and a district named Nu-chih-kan, Yuan-chwang arrived at Tashkend (Che-shih, Che-she, etc.), now the capital of Russian Turkestan, situated on a tributary of the Jaxartes in N. lat. 43°, E. long. 69°. From Tashkend probably he proceeded direct to Samarkand (Sa-mo-kin). The descriptions of Ferghana (Fei-han) and Ura-tépé (Ura-Tube, Ouratjübe etc.

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[1] Watters (p. 69) advocates the direct route, and this view is supported by the observations of Tomaschek (*Turcs Occ.*, Addenda, p. 304). But M. Chavannes (*op. cit.*, p. 9) prefers the other opinion.

[2] Tomaschek is positive that Tokmak represents the capital of the Turkish sovereign (*Turcs Occ.*, Addenda, p. 304).

[3] Watters, pp. 72—82; Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, references under *Ts'ien-ts'iuen* in Index.

[4] *Turcs Occ.*, p. 304.

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of maps; Chinese. Su-tu-li-se-na, ? = Sutṛishṇa), which are interpolated, do not seem to be based upon personal observation (Watters, p. 91).

While staying at Samarkand, Yuan-chwang collected and recorded much information concerning neighbouring regions, and then continued his march, in a direction slightly west of south, to Shahr-i-sabz in Kesh (K'a-sha, K'ê-shih, or Kasanna). From this town he proceeded, by four marches, a distance of about 55 English miles, nearly due south to the famous defile of the 'Iron Gates', which marked the boundary between Sogdiana and Tokhāristān (Tu-ho-lo, Bactria), and is situated about eight miles to the west of Derbent (N. lat. 38° 11′, E. long. 66° 54′).[1] Yuan-chwang thus attained the most westerly point of his pilgrimage, having traversed about forty-two degrees of longitude since he quitted the Chinese capital.

On emerging from the pass he turned in a south-easterly direction through Tokhāristān (Tu-ho-lo), and, crossing the Oxus, reached Kunduz (Huo), where he was obliged to halt for more than a month. From this resting-place he made an excursion westwards to Balkh (Fo-ho, Po-ho), and thence resumed his journey to India. At a distance of about twenty miles (more than 100 *li*) to the south of Balkh, he passed through a district called Ka-chih (Kie-chih), supposed to be that now known as the valley of Gaz; and thence made his way, in a direction east of south, to the 'Great Snowy Mountains', or Hindū Kush range, and so arrived at the pass and city of Bāmiān (Fan-yen-na, Wang-yen). He then turned eastwards through the Ghorband Valley, crossed 'a black range', that is to say, mountains of moderate elevation without snow, apparently those marked on modern maps as the Paghmān Mountains, and so entered the kingdom of Kapiśa (Ka-pi-shih), roughly corresponding with Kāfiristān. Yuan-chwang fails to specify the position of the capital, which has not been identified.[2] The pilgrim spent the season of compulsory 'rest' or 'retreat' during the rains at a monastery named Sha-lo-ka in the capital; and, when travelling was again lawful, resumed his journey. Passing, evidently, down the valley of the Panjshīr river, and crossing a 'black' range (Siyāh Kōh) he entered the country of Lamghān (Lan-p'o); which, as a foreigner, he considered to be part of India.[3] The traveller had then no difficulty in marching down the valley of the Kābul river until he reached India Proper.[4] On

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[1] Full details are given by Bretschneider (*Mediæval Researche*. Vol. I, pp. 81—4); and Chavannes (*Turcs Occ.*, p. 146, n. 5).

[2] For discussions as to the meaning of the term Kapiśa, see Watters, pp. 122—4; Chavannes, *Turcs Occ.*, Index, *s. v.*; *Voyage de Song-yun*, p. 37.

[3] Watters, p. 180.

[4] Not through the Khaibar (Khyber) Pass. See Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, p. 38; Foucher, *Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du Gandhâra*, Hanoi, 1902.

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his way he crossed a 'large river', the Kūnaṛ, and passed through the Na-ka-lo-ho country, or region near Jalālābād, and so entered the kingdom of Gandhāra (Kan-t'o-lo), now the Peshāwar District. His entry into this kingdom may be dated at the end of September or beginning of October, 630 A. D.

II. IN INDIA.

From October 630 A. D. to July 644 A. D.

Cunningham's approximate 'Chronology of Hwen Thsang's Travels' (*Anc. Geogr. of India*, App. A) errs in attempting an unattainable precision of detail. But the devious journeyings of the pilgrim in India may be arranged roughly in chronological order, although it is absurd to profess to indicate his exact position in each month of fourteen years. If we remember that Yuan-chwang, as a Buddhist monk, was bound to observe the 'rest' or 'retreat' during the rainy season, with a certain amount of latitude as to the exact time of the observance (Watters, I, 145), and if we note the longer halts as recorded, we obtain, as an approximately correct outline of his Indian travels in order of time, the following table:—

Rains, 630 A. D., at Sha-lo-ka monastery in Kapiśa, ('The Master kept the Rain-rest in this temple' *Life*, p. 56);

„ 631 } „ in Kaśmīr (stayed two years, *Life*, p. 72; say from
„ 632 } „ May 631 to April 633);

„ 633 „ at Chīnabhukti in Eastern Pañjab (stayed fourteen months, *Life*, p. 76);

„ 634 „ at Jālandhara (four months' stay, *Life*, p. 77);

„ 635 „ at Matipura in Bijnōr District (stayed for half the spring and the summer following, *Life*, p. 81);

„ 636 „ at Kanauj (stayed at the Bhadra-vihāra for three months, *Life*, p. 84; and, after leaving, was attacked by the river pirates 'in the autumn');

„ 637 „ at Nālandā in Bihār (stayed for some time, *Life* p. 113; returned, *ibid.* p. 120; and then stayed for fifteen months, *ibid.* p. 121. Counting his subsequent visit at the end of 642 A. D., his total residence at Nālandā amounted to about two years, *Life*, p 154);

„ 638 „ in Īriṇa country (Mungīr), where he stayed for a year (*Life*, p. 127);

„ 639 „ at either Amarāvatī or Bezvāda on the Kṛishṇā, where he resided for several months (*Life*, p. 137);

„ 640 „ at Kāñchī probably, the most southern point attained, where he halted evidently for a considerable time, hoping to visit Ceylon, *Life*, p. 139);

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Rains, 641 A. D., perhaps at the capital of Pulakēśin II (who was dethroned in 642), supposed by Dr. Fleet to have been Nāsik at that time; see *Life*, p. 146;

„ 642 „ in the Po-fa-to country, probably Jamū in south of modern Kaśmīr State, where he stopped for two months, according to Julien. Beal's version 'two years' (*Life*, p. 152 and Watters, II, 256) is difficult of acceptance: Yuan-chwang was at Nālandā 'in the beginning of the first month', equivalent to the end of January, 643 (*Life*, p. 156).

„ 643 „ at Pi-lo-shan-na, probably Bilsar in the Itā (Etah) District of the United Provinces, where he halted for two months (*Life*, p. 190). The early months of 643 were spent in attendance on king Harsha Śīlāditya; whom he quitted apparently in April; and he must have reached the Indus (*Life*, p. 191) about the beginning of 644;

„ 644 „ perhaps at Khotan, somewhat later than the normal time. Yuan-chwang spent seven or eight months at Khotan (*Life*, p. 210) awaiting his sovereign's permission to return, and, as he reached Ch'ang-an in the spring of 645 (April), he must have arrived at Khotan in September 644. Probably he had crossed the Hindū Kush early in July.

This outline cannot be far wrong, and all the pilgrim's various expeditions in different directions must be fitted into the intervals. There is no need to follow him now through his complicated wanderings, but a few notes are required to justify the entries in the map.

Mr. Watters' inveterate scepticism carried him too far when it induced him to treat as 'doubtful' (I, 223) the identification of Wu-to-ka-han-t'u (or *ch'a*), the U-to-kia-han-ch'a of Beal, with Ohind (Waihand or Und) on the Indus. The proofs of the identity are conclusive (Stein, *Rajat.* transl., Vol. II, p. 337).

Nothwithstanding Mr. Watters' sarcastic criticism that certain discrepancies in distances and bearings are 'not insuperable difficulties to an enthusiastic Indian archaeologist' (I, 249) desirous of identifying the Salt Range region with the pilgrim's kingdom of Siṃhapura, I am convinced that Cunningham and Stein were right in making the identification. Siṃhapura is described as 'a network of mountain defiles' lying midway, as measured by the number of marches, between Jālandhara and Taxila (Beal, *Life*, p. 191); and this description can apply only to the Salt Range.

The country named Wu-la-shih (Wu-la-cha) by Yuan-chwang is undoubtedly roughly equivalent to the Hazāra or Abbottābād District (= Uraśā), of which the northern portion lies to the north-west of the capital of Kaśmīr. The observations of Stein (*op. cit.*

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Vol. I, p. 215 n.) are sufficient to show that no adequate reason exists for the doubts hinted at by Mr. Watters (I, 257).

Sākala (I, 290), which Mr. Rodgers believed to be represented by either Chiniōṭ or Shāhkōṭ in the Jhang District (*E. Hist. India*, p. 274 n.), is supposed by Dr. Fleet and Mr. H. A. Rose to be Siālkōṭ.

The district of Chinabhukti or Chīnabhukti, the name of which used to be transcribed erroneously as Chinapati (I, 292), must have lain near Fīrōzpur. The *Life* is right in placing Tamasāvana (I, 292) at the distance of only 50 *li* to the south-east of Chinabhukti town.

Ku-lu-to (I, 298) evidently is identified rightly with Kulu, N. N. W. of Simla, in the basin of the upper waters of the Biās, which must be the 'great river' crossed by the pilgrim when he turned south. Mr. Watters admits that the designation, She-lō-t'u-lu, of the country next visited may represent Śatadru. The region so named, which was bounded on the west by a 'large river', the Sutlaj or Śatadru, may be taken as comprising the western portion of the Ambāla (Umballa) District, as well as the Sahrind (Sarhind), and Lūdiāna Districts, with the Patiāla State, or part of it.

The bearing S. W., that is to say, west of south, to the next place, named Po-li-ye-ta-lo, or Pāryātrā, now represented by Bairāt in Rājputāna, situated N. N. E. of Jaypur, indicates that the pilgrim visited the eastern part of the Śatadru country, equivalent to the western side of the Ambāla District. The distance between Śatadru and Pāryātra is obviously understated as being 'over 800 *li*', and Cunningham's proposal to read '1800' is reasonable.

The distance eastward from Bairāt to Mathurā (*Mo-t'u-lo*), which is about 95 miles, as measured on the map, agrees well with the pilgrim's estimate of 'above 500 *li*'. In easy country the *li* may be reckoned as $^3/_{16}$ths of a mile, or somewhere between one fifth and one sixth.

The identification of *Mo-t'u-lo* with Mathurā appears to be certain, and that of Sa-ta-ni-ssŭ-fa-lo with Sthāneśvara (Sthānvīśvara, *Bāṇa*) or Thānēsar is equally free from doubt. But the distance and bearing given in the text (*Life*, p. 78; *Records*, I, 183) are erroneous. Thānēsar is described as being situated more than 500 *li* to the N. E. of Mathurā, whereas it really lies N. N. W. of that city, at about double the distance stated. A good many errors in figures have crept into certain parts of the MSS. of Yuan-chwang's travels.

From Thānēsar Yuan-chwang travelled more than 400 *li* N. E. to Su-lu-k'in-na or Srughna. The position of this country is fixed unmistakeably by the specification that it was bounded on the north by high mountains, and on the east by the Ganges, while the Jumna flowed through the midst of it. It must have corresponded to the Dehra District, and the north-eastern portion of the Ambāla

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District, with probably a part of the Sahāranpur District, and some of the Hill States abutting on Dehra.

The distance from the Jumna to the Ganges is greatly overstated in the text (I, 319) as being above 800 *li*. In reality it does not exceed 50 or 60 miles, or 300 *li* at the outside. Mo-ti-pu-lo, or Matipur, is represented by the Bijnōr District, or the eastern part of it; but Mr. Watters is right (I, 322) in rejecting Cunningham's identification of the capital with Mandāwar.

Mo-yü-lo, or Mayūra city, clearly was close to Hardwār, although not exactly identical with it, being on the other side of the river (I, 328).

The P'o-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, or Brahmapura, country is unmistakeably Gaṛhwāl, which lies north of Matipur (I, 330). The modern capital is Śrīnagar, N. lat. 30° 14′, E. long. 78° 37′.

There is no reason whatever to doubt the identity of Ngo (or O)-hi-ch'i-ta-lo with Ahikshetra, or Ahichatra, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Barēli (Bareilly) District (I, 332).

Cunningham's later identification (*Reports*, XI, 15, not cited by Mr. Watters) of Bilsaṛ in the Ītā (Etah) District with the capital of Pi-lo-shan-na (I, 332) may be accepted.

I do not believe in Cunningham's identification of the little village called Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District with Kapitha or Sankāśya (Sêng-ka-she) (I, 335). Space will not permit of detailed discussion, and I confine myself to the remarks that the position is determined by the fixed points Ahichatra and Kanauj, and that the 'elephant-pillar' at Sankisa cannot be the 'lion-pillar' seen at Kapitha by Yuan-chwang. I should look for Kapitha-Sankāśya in the N. E. corner of the Ītā District not many miles from Patiālī.

Mr. Watters (I, 354), like Cunningham, has been misled by the apparent similarity of the names A-yü-t'ê and Ayōdhya. Detailed examination of the question would require many pages, and I can only note that in my opinion the A-yü-t'ê country should be sought in the Fatehpur District. Aphui, 29 miles S. E. of Fatehpur may be taken as the *approximate* site of the capital (See Führer, *Monumental Antiquities of N. W. P. and Oudh*, p. 157). Aphui was one of the stages on the old road from Kanauj to Prayāga (Allāhābād), along which the pilgrim was travelling.

The A-ye-mu-k'a country (I, 359) seems to correspond to the Partābgaṛh and Rāi Barēli Districts in Oudh, or parts of those Districts. The distance of more than 700 *li* from A-ye-mu-k'a to Prayāga (I, 361) is an obvious blunder. Mr. Watters was mistaken, I am convinced, in supposing (I, 360) that Yuan-chwang erroneously applied the name Ganges to some other river. Although errors in the statements of distances undoubtedly exist in the pilgrim's text, as we possess it, the bearings and names are generally correct, and must not be tampered with lightly.

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The question concerning the position of Yuan-chwang's Kośāmbi is a very difficult one (I, 366), and the materials now available do not justify any positive identification. I adhere to the view that the famous Buddhist town was somewhere on an arc distant about 90 miles, more or less, from Allāhābād in a direction between south and west, and am now rather disposed to search for the site at the extremity of the Bāndā District to the N. E. of Ajaigaṛh. The statements of the *Records* and *Life* on the subject are specially detailed and precise, and cannot be ignored.

Guesses as to the exact position of P'i-sho-ka (? = Viśoka) (I, 373) and Kāśapura must also be unsatisfactory at present; but, after renewed study of the question, I should not be surprised, if the ancient site Nīmkhār or Nimsār, 20 miles S. of Sītāpur, turned out to be P'i-sho-ka. If this be so, Kāśapura would be somewhere in the Unāo District. The country is full of old sites; and some lucky discovery is needed to give precision to topographical guesses, which alone can never solve the problem.[1]

As to the position of Śrāvastī (I, 379) I have no doubt that the ruins lie on the upper course of the Rāptī in Nepalese territory, near the point where the river emerges from the hills. The Achiravatī river, which flowed past the city, seems to be the Airāvatī, or Rāptī (p. 398). Similarly, the river at Kuśinagara is called both Ajitavatī and Airāvatī (II, 28), and that river is the Little Rāptī.

Mr. Watters' descriptions of the mountains, caves, and hill at Śrāvastī (III, 398, 401) offer additional proof that the city lay close to the foot of the Himālaya.

Concerning Kapilavastu I still hold the oponion that the remains at Piprāwā were shown to Fa-hsien as those of Kapilavastu, while the guides of Yuan-chwang identified the town with the walled city now known as Tilaura Kōṭ. The reasons for this opinion will be found in my Prefatory Note to Mukherji's *Report on the Antiquities in the Tarāi, Nepāl* (*Archaeol. Surv. Rep. No. XXVI, Part I*, Calcutta, 1901).

Mr. Watters' remarks on the Lumbini Garden (II, 17, 18) are not quite up to date, and require some correction.

The site of Rāmagrāma (II, 20) certainly must be sought near Dharmaulī (Dharmapurī) on the frontier of Nepāl and Gōrakhpur, in approximately N. lat. 27° 26′, and E. long. 83° 52′ (*J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 151).

The best indication of the site of Kuśinagara is that given by General H. H. Prince Khaḍga Shamshēr Jang, Rāna Bahādur, late Governor of Western Nepāl, who places it at the confluence of the

[1] Major Vost offers fresh conjectures, more or less plausible, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 437.

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Little Rāptī (which he calls Achiravatī) with the Gandak or Hiraṇyavatī, near Bhavasār Ghāṭ (*Pioneer Mail*, 26 Feb., 1904). Mr. Watters erroneously supposed (II, 29) that the names Hiraṇyavatī and Airāvatī (Ajitavatī, Achiravatī) referred to one stream.

Ghāzīpur must undoubtedly be the approximate representative of the capital of the Chan-chu country (II, 59).

For discussion of identity of Basāṛ with Vaisāli see *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 267 (II, 63).

The Vṛiji (*Fu-li-chih*) country (II, 81) evidently is roughly equivalent to the northern part of the Darbhanga District and the adjacent Nepalese Tarāi. A *possible* site for the capital is offered by the ruins at Balīgaṛh or Kshēmāgaṛh, some 16 miles north of Madhubani, which are miscalled 'Burdras' on the map, and 'Bindras' in the official *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*. I am indebted to the Magistrate of Darbhanga for the real name of the place. The ramparts are said to be ten feet high and in an excellent state of preservation.

The villages Nataka (*Na-t'ê*) and Koṭī (*Kou-li*) between Vaisāli and Pāṭaliputra (II, 86) perhaps may be identified by local enquiry.

Mr. Watters' sceptical remarks (II, 107) fail to shake my belief that the identification of the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery with the ruins at Tilāḍha (or whatever may be the proper spelling) is well-established (Cunningham, *Reports*, VIII, 34; XI, 165).

Mr. Watters corrects Julien's transliteration of I-lan-na-po-fato as Hiraṇyaparvata, and suggests that the first element in the name is the Sanskrit *īraṇa*, meaning 'a piece of wild or barren land'. This may be substantially right, but the dictionaries give the word as *iriṇa* or *īriṇa*. Whatever be the accurate form of the name, the locality indicated certainly is Monghyr (Mungīr). (Watters, II, 180).

Kajangala (II, 183) is an improvement on Julien's Kajughira as the transliteration of the Chinese name, which is said to be properly Ka-chu-wen-k'i-lo. The region so designated is the Rājmahāl District.

The capital of Karṇa-suvarṇa was Rattamaṭṭikā (Rangāmaṭṭī, Rungamutty), some twelve miles to the south of Murshīdābād (*J.A.S.B.* 1853; and *ibid.*, Part I, Vol. LXIII, p. 172). The Pundra-vardhana country lay to the north of Karṇa-suvarṇa, and Samataṭa, the delta of the Ganges, lay to the south. As Mr. Watters points out (II, 190), there is no reason to doubt the identity of the ancient port Tāmralipti with the modern Tamlūk. Mr. Watters' identification of Śrīkshetra with the Tipperah District (II, 189) seems to be correct.

Colonel Waddell and Mr. Watters agree in placing, at least provisionally, the ancient capital of Orissa near the village named Nendra, a few miles below Cuttack (Kaṭak), on the Mahānadī (II, 195).

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The province which Yuan-chwang calls Kung-yü-t'o is the Gañjām coast, the Kōṅgōdamaṇḍala of inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, 136).

The capital of Kalinga in Yuan-chwang's time (II, 198) apparently was Kalinganagaram, the modern Mukhalingam in the Gañjām District (see references in *E. Hist. of India*, p. 356, n.).

I accept the identification of T'e-na-ka-che-ka or Dhanakaṭaka with Bezvāda (II, 216). The pilgrim's notes of distances in this part of his travels are largely in excess.

I am still of opinion that the Chola (Chu-li-ya) country of Yuan-chwang was substantially the modern Cuddapah District (II, 224; *E. Hist. of India*, p. 344 and *G. O., Madras, Public*, No. 518, dated 18 July, 1905).

The cave-temples seen by the pilgrim in Mahārāshṭra undoubtedly were those of Ajaṇṭā (Ajīṇṭhā) (II, 240).

—Nobody doubts that the Chinese Po-lu-ka-che-p'o represents Bharōch (Bharōc, Broach, etc.), the town near the mouth of the Narmadā or Narbadā river (II, 241); but considerable misunderstanding has arisen concerning the identity of the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o, which Mr. Beal and most other commentators have wrongly identified with Mālava, or Mālwā, the country of which Ujjain was the capital. In my essay entitled 'The Indian kings named Śīlāditya, and the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1904, p. 787) I have shown that Mo-la-p'o was a kingdom of Western India lying between Bharukaccha or Bharōch, Kaccha (Cutch), Valabhī, and Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar). It corresponded roughly with the modern Districts of Kheḍā (Kaira) and Aḥmadābād of the Bombay Presidency, together with parts of the Baroda State and some adjoining territory. The identity of Ānandapura (Watters, II, 24) with Vaḍnagar is demonstrated in the same essay (p. 792) on evidence presented by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

It is not possible to locate precisely the country called A-t'a-li or A-ch'a-li (p. 243); but there is no reason to doubt that Kaccha (Cutch) is designated by the name K'i-ch'a or Ki-t'a (p. 245).

Mr. Watters was needlessly doubtful about the exact position of Valabhī (Fa-la-p'i, p. 246), which is quite certainly represented by the ruins at Walā, eighteen miles north-west of Bhāonagar (*Arch. S. W. I.*, Vol. II, p. 80; etc.). This identification has never been doubted by any archæologist except, apparently, Mr. Fergusson.

Kü-che-lo (p. 250) with equal certainty is a transcription of Gurjara or Gurjjarā, an important kingdom, the history of which has been investigated recently by Mr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Hoernle, and other writers. The capital, P'i-lo-mo-lo, has not been successfully identified. Vivien de Saint-Martin's guess, mentioned by Mr. Watters,

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appears to be erroneous. The country was equivalent to Central and Northern Rājputāna.[1]

Wu-shê-yen-na (p. 250) is undoubtedly Ujjain or Ujjayinī; and Chih-chi-t'o (p. 251) was understood rightly by Cunningham to represent Jijhoti, or Jejāka-bhukti, the modern Bundēlkhaṇḍ. The suggestion that Chitore (Chitaur) should be considered the equivalent of Chih-chi-t'o is quite out of the question. Careful examination of the map and bearings makes it plain that Maheśvarapura (Mo-hi-ssŭ-fa-lo-pu-lo, p. 251) is the modern Gwalior (Gwāliyār).

The precise limits of the pilgrim's kingdom of Sind (Sin-tu, p. 252) cannot be determined.

Notwithstanding Mr. Watters' criticisms (p. 254), I am still inclined to believe that Mou-lo-san-pu-lu was intended to be a transcription of Mūlasthānapura, the modern Mūltān, although inaccurately written. Po-fa-to (p. 255) seems to indicate the region of Jamū (Jummoo), in the south of the Kaśmīr State as at present constituted.

A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, whatever the Sanskrit phonetic equivalent may have been, clearly designates the delta of the Indus (p. 256).

The countries in the Indus valley, Pi-to-shih-lo and others (II, 258 foll.) cannot be identified with precision. Their approximate relative positions are indicated on the map. Fa-la-na seems to be rightly identified with the valley of the Gūmal (Gumul) river (II, 263).

Everybody is agreed that Ghaznī is either on or near the site of Ho-si-na, the ancient capital of Tsao-ku-t'a, or Arachosia. Mr. Watters' suggestion (II, 266) that Tsao-ku-t'a is a transcription of *jāguḍa*, said to mean 'saffron', is novel.

Hu-pi-na, the capital of Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na (II, 267) should certainly be identified, I think, with Hupiān or Opiān, near Chārikar, some thirty miles distant from Kābul in a northerly direction.

III. INDIA TO CHINA.

From July, 644 A. D. to April, 645 A. D.

Yuan-chwang, after leaving Ghaznī (*Ho-si-na*), the capital of the Tsao-kut'a (Tsau-ku-cha or Jāguḍa) country, travelled in a northerly direction for a distance estimated as 500 *li*, or ten easy stages, and so arrived in the Kābul territory, which he calls Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na. The capital was Hu-pi-na (U-pi-na), almost certainly identical with Hupiān or Opiān, situated to the north of Chārikar, in N. lat. 35° 2′, E. long. 69° 1′. The city of Kābul, which is 85 miles distant

[1] 'Gûrjaras', by D. R. Bhandarkar, in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, read 13th Nov. 1902; Hoernle and Stark, *History of India*, pp. 62, 64.

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from Ghaznī, is never mentioned by the pilgrim, and perhaps was not important in his time.

A short journey eastward brought him to the frontiers of Kapiśa (Kāfiristān), where he was detained for seven days in attendance on the local king. He next proceeded a few miles (one *yojana*) to the north-east, took leave of his host, and turned towards the north, crossing the Hindū Kush mountains by the Khāwak Pass (Po-lo-se-na), probably early in July.

His next important halting-place was Andarāb (An-ta-lo-fo (or -po)); whence he advanced through Khost (*K'woh-si-to*) to Kunduz (Huo or Hwoh), which he had visited fourteen years before. There he halted for a month (August), and then, instead of taking the northern or Samarkand road by which he had come, he plunged into the mountains, travelling in a direction easterly on the whole. In Badakshān (Po-to-ch'ang-na) he was detained for a month and seven days waiting for the opening of the passes. Proceeding along difficult and devious paths, he traversed Yamgān (Yin-po-kien or In-po-kin), Kurān (Ku-lang-na), Wakhan (Ta-mo-si-tiè-ti, Huo-mi, or Hu-mi), the capital of which was Kandūt (Hun-t'ê-to or Hu-en-t'o-to), and so reached Lake Victoria or Sarikul.[1]

Yuan-chwang then made his way to the Wakhjīr Pass, on the watershed of the Oxus and Yarkand rivers, and proceeded through the Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīrs to Tāshkurghān, the capital of Sarikul (Ka-p'an-t'o, or Kie-p'an-to). Passing along the western flank of the huge mountain named Mustāgh-Ata, and traversing a region named Osh (Wu-sa, or U-sha) he ultimately emerged in the plain of Kashgar (Kāshghar, Ka-sha, or Kie-sha).[2]

From Kashgar the traveller followed the now well-known road through Yarkand to Khotan (Khoten). The capital, Che-ku-ka (Cho-kiu-kia), of the intervening country, should be identified, according to M. Chavannes, with Karghalik to the south of Yarkand. Yuan-chwang thus reached Khotan, probably in September, and was constrained to remain there for seven or eight months waiting for the imperial permission to return to China. In due course the necessary orders were received, and the pilgrim resumed his journey. Passing the town of Pi-mo (= Bhīmā), probably the modern Uzun-tati, about 55 miles E. N. E. from Khotan, he arrived at Niya (Ni-yang, or Ni-jang) on the eastern frontier of the Khotan kingdom.[4] He then entered the desert, and so came to the small Tukhāra (Tu-ho-lo) country, which may be located at Andere or Endere.[5] He next

[1] See Beal, *Life*, pp. 193—8; *Records*, II, 285 *seqq.*; Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 23 n.

[2] Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 60, 72.

[3] Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 20 n. (Hanoi, 1903).

[4] Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 434, 440.

[5] The horrors of this desert are described by a Chinese author Rémusat, *Hist. de la ville de Khotan*, p. 64. Paris 1820).

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passed through the territory known as Che-mo-t'o-na (Chü-mo or Nie-mo), apparently the modern Cherchen.

From this points onwards the *Life* gives few details of the route, but it is clear that Yuan-chwang passed to the south of Lake Lop-nor (Lob-nor), as he is recorded to have traversed the kingdom of Na-fo-p'o, included in that formerly called Lou-lan, which is known to have extended to the south of the Lake.[1]

He must have proceeded next by the road skirting the base of the Altyn Tāgh Range, from which turning northwards, he reached Sha-chau (Sha-chow, Sachu). Presumably he must have journeyed onward to the Yu-mēn barrier, through which he had made his escape when furtively quitting China sixteen years before, and thence must have travelled by the ordinary road through Liang-chau to the western capital Ch'ang-an (Hsian or Si-ngan-fu), where he arrived 'in the spring' of 645 A. D., probably at some time in the month of April.

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[1] Chavannes, *Song-yun*, p. 13 n. See also Watters in *China Review*, VIII. 112.

Postscript. — My views concerning the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o (*ant.* p. 341, *E. Hist. of India*, p. 279) have been criticized recently by Dr. Burgess (*Ind. Ant.*, Aug. 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 195) and Prof. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal des Savants*, Oct. 1905, pp. 544—8). The latter scholar holds that the Chinese K'i-ch'a (Kie-tch'a) should be regarded as the phonetic equivalent of Kheṭa (Kaira of maps), and not of Kaccha (Cutch). The discussion is not yet closed, but I may say that I adhere to the opinion that the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o was quite distinct from that of Ujjain; and that consequently all historical theories are erroneous which rest on the assumption that Śīlāditya of Mo-la-p'o was king of Ujjain.

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